

UNITED NATIONS PERSPECTIVE ON THE QUESTIONS OF AFGHANISTAN

On 19 April 1990, Mr. Giandomenico Picco, Assistant to the Secretary-General for Special Assignments, briefed NGO representatives on the questions of Iran-Iraq, and Afghanistan.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Picco said he would focus on what lies ahead rather than on the history of these two conflicts. Firstly, he commented on the question of Afghanistan. According to Mr. Picco, the Afghanistan conflict has changed in nature over the last few years. The conflict has moved away from the very clear East-West overtones it had, to a conflict which now hardly can be placed in the traditional East-West confrontation.

Unfortunately, Mr. Picco said, the Afghan reality still involves foreign presence. For this reason, the Secretary-General has suggested that before the Afghan situation can be resolved, or as a first step, an international consensus has to be achieved. Mr. Picco explained that an international consensus does not literally mean a consensus among all Members of the United Nations; it means a consensus between the two guarantors of the Geneva Agreements and the countries neighbouring Afghanistan.

Unless a consensus among them is reached, it would serve no purpose to ask the Afghan nation to express its self-determination. In his view, it would be unwise and dishonest at this time to ask the Afghan nation what it wants, because the answer is still too much affected by the presence of outsiders. Several countries have joined the Secretary-General in calling for an international consensus among the concerned parties.

A second major element necessary for the Afghan war to be brought to an end is that efforts have to be pursued in order to structure the Afghan opposition, Mr. Picco said. Even those who support the present Government of Afghanistan realize that without a proper interlocutor from the opposition, no Afghan process can be achieved. However, ideas that have been suggested so far to structure the opposition have not worked.

In Mr. Picco's view, the evolution in Afghanistan cannot prescind from the reality of the Afghan nation as a togetherness of different tribes. One aspect of the Afghan reality which may have escaped some is that the tribe which was in power until 1978 is no longer in that position. The tribe in power in Kabul is the same tribe which is in power among Afghan refugees in Peshawar. The second element of the tribal reality in Afghanistan is that ten years of war have given a new relevance to the Tadjik nation - a nation within Afghanistan which previously has not had a prominent role. Mr. Picco said he expects the Tadjik nation to ask for a larger role on the national scene. Within the Pashtun Nation the balance between the two major tribes, the Duranni and the Gilzai has been changed. The Gilzai tribe will probably remain in a position of prominence, as it has been over the last ten years, according to Mr. Picco.

Mr. Picco said he underlined this tribal element because, in his view, too much has been said about the Afghan political situation in the context of regional and international politics. Since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, much more attention should have been given to the reality of the tribal balance in Afghanistan rather than superimposing political ideologies from abroad.

The role which the international community may play in this case can be divided along two major lines:

Firstly, the foreign countries which are actors in the Afghan theatre should realize that they cannot individually suggest and/or impose a particular outcome. However, they should hopefully agree on a common denominator. An international consensus among the neighbouring countries and the two guarantors of the Geneva Agreements would be indispensable if a solution is to be found.

Secondly, there is the role of the United Nations. Mr. Picco said he believes the Secretary-General will continue his active diplomacy in bringing together the pieces of this international consensus among the neighbouring countries and the two major powers. At the same time, the United Nations is trying to relate to every different Afghan group which can be reached in order to carry assistance of any possible form, irrespective of their political position.

According to Mr. Picco, suggestions to the solution of the Afghan question should be avoided. In terms of diplomacy, he said, the Afghan people should be given the chance to say what they want. At the moment, however, they are not yet in that position.

DPI/NGO/SB/90/15

From an article on censorship in Iranian films by Philip Shenon in the 8/15 NYT

Among Mr. Mehrjui's contemporaries is Mohsen Makhmalbaf, whose popular film "The Bicycle Run" was seen by critics as an attack on the inequities between rich and poor that the Government tolerates. That the film was supposedly set in Afghanistan may have been Mr. Makhmalbaf's concession to the Iranian censors.

Mujahedeen guerillas back Xinjiang revolt

A FOREIGNER who spent months among Muslims in China's northwest frontier region said yesterday a recent armed revolt there against Chinese rule was backed by Afghan Mujahedeen guerillas.

China has said 22 people died when police crushed an uprising last month in the town of Baren in Xinjiang, a huge and sensitive region bordering Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, Pakistan and Mongolia.

The official Chinese media has accused Muslims of forming Islamic death squads to launch a "Holy War" for independence from communist rule by Beijing.

The foreigner, who speaks the local Turkic Uyghur language and travelled extensively in areas near Baren a few days after the revolt, quoted several people in the area as saying Mujahedeen guerillas had supplied weapons from across the border.

His account could not be independently confirmed but Western diplomats in

Beijing said it was feasible and in many respects similar to China's official version.

The traveller said the weapons, mainly guns, were intended for simultaneous uprisings in six oasis towns along the ancient Silk Road on the 17th day of the Muslim Ramadan festival (April 13).

The revolt was to be led by Abul Kasim, described as an Islamic spiritual leader and commander-in-chief of an underground movement for an independent "Free East Turkestan" in Xinjiang. He is believed to be in his 40s.

The traveller said: "Everyone says Abul Kasim was sent from Allah."

Kasim's plot was exposed, however, by a member of his rebel band during a row with a horse dealer. Hearing of it, Chinese authorities sent seven lightly armed militia to investigate in Akto county where the town of Baren is located.

Rebels killed them, the traveller said.

China's People's Armed Police then marched on the

county and fought a battle with a small band of rebels on April 5 and 6, he added.

About half of Xinjiang's 15 million inhabitants share the Muslim faith with Afghans, Pakistanis and minority nationalities in the Soviet Union's restive Asian republics across the border.

Western diplomats said the traveller's account was the most detailed yet of an organised network of anti-Chinese forces in Xinjiang working with overseas help.

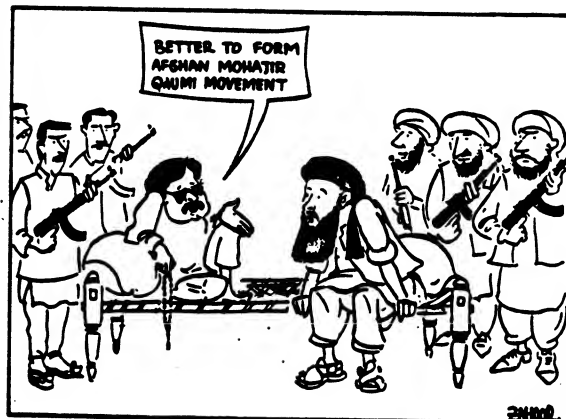
Baren is populated by the Kirghiz nationality who total about 120,000 on the Chinese side of the border. The Soviet republic of Kirgiziya, scene of anti-Russian riots earlier this year, lies just across the border.

In the meantime, a senior official has called for stricter supervision of religious activities in Xinjiang.

Xinjiang regional congress chairman Tomur Dawamat told provincial radio: "We should effectively intensify supervision over religious activities and the venues for such activities."

Reuter

SCMP 5/10



Frontier Post 7/26

Refugees Live in Fear and Hardship

THE NEW YORK TIMES

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

SHABQADAR, PAKISTAN — On the border with Afghanistan, where millions of exiles might be expected to rejoice in the news that Moscow and Washington are nearing agreement on their political future, there is no joy. Among the Afghans, guerrillas and refugees alike, there is tension, mounting hardship and despair.

In the already violent atmosphere of the traditionally unruly Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier, there are also new tensions and brutalities.

A mysterious campaign of terror in the name of Islamic fundamentalism is jeopardizing the lives of Western aid workers and those Afghans, particularly the women, who have dared to ally themselves with educational and social programs that challenge certain political and religious leaders.

Americans working for humanitarian organizations have been attacked. Some have fled the country under death threats. A French doctor has been murdered.

Relief agencies, the Islamic leaders say, are teaching Afghan women "Western sex," according to a frontier-based in the Peshawar. As evidence, the mullahs cite the soap the women have been given to wash their bodies.

Shrinking Aid Programs

Here in a sprawling camp where refugees' faces exemplify nearly every Afghan ethnic group and region, the effects of smaller aid programs are being felt. Donor countries are reducing contributions and price increases are shrinking the purchases of basic commodities.

These effects are reflected in the daily life of a 12-year-old girl named Khatima and her parents and nine brothers and sisters camped under an open canvas tent roof. Moved here after another camp was flooded by monsoon rains in July, Khatima's family and more than 400 others have yet to meet a relief agency official in this camp.

She said she lives on traditional flatbreads and occasional vegetables. There is no meat and no milk. Her father looks for day labor to buy cooking oil.

She misses school, she said, and the Afghan farming village her family fled two years ago under bombardment. Like apparently all families here at the Munda 6 camp, Khatima's father says he will not accept a United Nations offer of voluntary repatriation under a plan begun a week ago.

The plan, which officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Pakistan emphasize is still experimental, gives a family about \$150 and a small amount of grain if members turn in their refugee ration cards and return to peaceful areas of Afghanistan. Of more than three million refugees in Pakistan, only a few hundred families have so far joined the repatriation program. No Afghan guerrilla group supports the program and some groups may be threatening followers against joining.

Instability in Region

Afghans say they will not return until President Najibullah and the Communist Party are removed from power. They fear continued fighting or being maimed by land mines. There is also confusion about what has happened to, property rights, buildings, equipment and fields.



The New York Times
Afghan refugees in Shabqadar feel the effects of aid reductions.

Furthermore, as a kind of peace looms over Afghanistan, uncertainties about the country's future are emerging, especially in the context of an unstable Muslim world. The prospect of a power vacuum in Kabul alarms those Afghans described as moderates.

Saudi Arabia and Iran have already positioned themselves for major roles through support for guerrilla groups. Others are waiting, Afghans say.

"If the United States cuts or reduces its aid to the Afghan cause, it will be replaced by the Arabs," said Rasul Amin, director of the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan, who keeps an automatic rifle behind his chair and a pistol on his desk. "The Iraqis and Libyans will try to fill the vacuum. Afghanistan would not be at peace for a long time."

Professor Amin and others believe Iraq has been looking for ways to surround Iran with hostile neighbors. Afghans, concerned about Iraqi objectives since the end of the Iran-Iraq war, now fear that President Saddam Hussein, Iraq, emboldened and enriched by overrunning Kuwait, is more dangerous than ever.

Officials in Islamabad said the Soviet Union must also be aware of these possibilities for Arab and Iranian meddling, which multiply the fear of outside support through Afghanistan for Islamic rebels in Soviet Central Asia.

Religious and Political Roots

The threat of fundamentalism in Afghanistan and among Afghan refugees has both religious and political roots, exiles say.

Most leaders of the seven-party alliance in Pakistan and their counterparts in exile in Iran are extremely conservative Muslims. The most visible of these men is Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who has been strongly supported by Pakistan since the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the father of the current prime minister, and who once received much of the American military aid that was channeled through Islamabad. But many Afghans believe that Mr. Hekmatyar has used the Islamic cause more for his own political purposes than out of conviction.

"Afghans are simple, illiterate people who believe what the mullahs tell them," a critic of Mr. Hekmatyar said. "But what kind of a Muslim is he when he has made the Communist Tanai an important official in his organization?"

He was referring to Shahnewaz Tanai, the general and former Afghan defense minister who led an unsuccessful coup against President Najibullah early this year. General Tanai was backed by Mr. Hekmatyar and is now under his protection, causing a rift within the guerrilla group.

A man to be feared possibly even more, say many Afghans and foreign aid workers, is Jameel ur Rahman, the mullah who heads the Wahabi sect in the border area. This Saudi-backed militantly fundamentalist sect, like Mr. Hekmatyar's guerrilla organization, appears to have unlimited financial and other resources and possibly the support of Pakistani intelligence agents. The Wahabis are opening schools inside Afghanistan and consolidating local support through largesse of various kinds, Afghans say.

Death Threats Are Circulated

On this side of the border, the atmosphere created by the Wahabis, other fundamentalist mullahs and conservative guerrilla leaders, all seem to contribute to the hostility toward Westerners and Afghan women, some of whom are named in death threats. Threats couched as Islamic judgments began to be circulated or posted publicly as early as February.

But the situation became critical in May, with the storming of an office of Shelter Now International. The office, in the Nasirbagh refugee camp near Peshawar, was assisting widows and children and mullahs in a nearby Islamic center had whipped up the attack with charges that Shelter Now was a "front for Christianity."

The organization's American director, Thor Armstrong, and his son were later shot at as they drove through a smugglers' bazaar area. The family left the country, to be followed a few weeks later by Tom Yates, the head of the International Rescue Committee in Pakistan. The organization has the largest programs among refugees, including the education of Afghan women.

Mr. Yates received a public death threat, charging him with wearing shorts and frequenting video rental shops in violation of Islamic practice. About the same time, religious edicts were issued forbidding women from leaving home without a man's permission.

Several American women have been

attacked, one robbed and shot at as she slept in her home at night and another pulled from a bicycle in Peshawar. American diplomats advise against security.

Security measures have been strengthened, but inevitably, an American said, aid agencies will begin to pull back. Several have decided not to fill existing vacancies. Afghan refugees often see these agency moves as a sign that they are about to be pushed back into an unsettled country when a Soviet-American agreement is announced.

They link the reduction in aid to the United Nations repatriation program. United Nations and Pakistani officials insist that no refugees will be moved against their will. They continue to enjoy many unusual privileges here, including the right to work and buy property.

Afghan exile leaders are beginning to be openly critical of Pakistani guarantees of safety in the camps and towns where Afghans have been attacked and sometimes killed. In an interview in the current issue of Wafa, the journal of the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan, Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, President of the exile Afghan Interim Government set up in Peshawar after the Soviet

troop withdrawal, said he had taken the problem of security to high Pakistani officials and the military.

"I am sure if Pakistani authorities want to stop the killings, they can stop it," he said. "They know very well the trained and well-equipped terrorist groups that have committed more than 90 percent of the murders, the destruction of Shelter Now International in Nasirbagh camp, the killing of 80 Afghans in Sawabi camp and the burglaries in different parts of Peshawar."

"The Pakistani authorities can arrest those bandits whose terrorism is an issue of great shame to the Mujaheddin and the Jihad itself," he said.

AUGUST 19, 1990



Mohammed Yusuf and his family

OIC urged to ask Mujahids to stop threatening returning refugees

By Sadiq Jafri

ISLAMABAD—The OIC, other friendly countries, and particularly Pakistan, should persuade the Mujahideen commanders that they should not cause any threat to the lives of the returning Afghan refugees.

This was stated by Mr. Qudrattullah Ahmadi, Afghan Charge d'Affaires, in an interview with *The Pakistan Times* here at his residence on Sunday evening.

He denied reports that there were 20 to 40 million mines left in Afghanistan by the Soviets. "The actual number of mines is much less than that," he said. "Also, we are ready to co-operate with USAID and Operation Salam as well as the Mujahideen commanders in de-mining efforts."

The diplomat in his detailed analysis of the latest situation before and after the beginning of the Pakistan-UNHCR sponsored repatriation plan said that majority of refugees were sick and tired of their miserable life in camps and they wanted to go back but they were afraid of threats issued by Mujahideen commanders in and outside Afghanistan.

He explained in detail the incentives announced by the Kabul administration for the returning refugees. These are: amnesty to all; return of properties and businesses or compensation in case of confiscation or damage to properties; free of cost food, shelter, medicine and transportation during the first month of return; guarantee of jobs to skilled and semi-skilled workers; free of cost seeds, chemicals and use of equipment to the returning peasants; return of houses plus five hectares of land to each family; and all other possible measures to help a dignified and honourable return.

Mr. Ahmadi rejected the rumours that Kabul administration would take action against army deserters. He said that, on the contrary, a general amnesty has repeatedly been announced and all the deserters are entitled to get back their jobs in the army under the national reconciliation plan.

The Afghan diplomat said that the Kabul regime would need huge resources to facilitate the rehabilitation. He appealed to all, including the UNHCR, Operation Salam, World Food Programme and friendly countries to give aid to Afghanistan for this humanitarian cause.

The Operation Salam of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, he said, had been a success so far. "The Kabul regime is not only cooperating, but has also been providing its channels for a direct contact between the organisation officials and

Mujahideen commanders in certain areas inside Afghanistan where it is not otherwise possible". A separate Ministry for Rehabilitation has recently been created to provide all help to the returning refugees in the collective interest of Afghan people," he said, and added that the refugees are being provided "Tribal Documentation" at the points of Jalalabad and Mazar Sharif which help them in free travel inside Afghanistan. Those who want to go abroad are provided with "passports free of cost and official help is also offered to them in getting visas from foreign missions" in Kabul.

While saying that there had been no attack on the returning refugees during the past weeks, particularly in the past two days, he expressed regret over the increase in rocket attacks on Kabul after the announcement of Pakistan-UNHCR sponsored repatriation plan.

"Almost all those who were killed in these attacks — 2,500 rockets have so far been fired at Kabul — are innocent citizens, with very few exceptions. At least no Minister or General of any other officer has been killed in these attacks."

Mr. Ahmadi appealed to Mujahideen commanders to stop the bloodshed and come to the negotiations table. "We have changed the whole system in Afghanistan other officers has been renamed as Watan Party, its manifesto now talks about the whole Afghan nation and not one single group. At least 23 Ministers in the cabinet are from outside Watan Party. We have admitted all our past mistakes. A Ministry for Religious Affairs has been created and an Institute of Islamic Strategy is also working. Mullahs who take care of the mosque and lead prayers are now paid regular salaries. Mosques are also provided with free electricity and other facilities. Milad-un-Nabi is celebrated and Muharram is observed. All sects and religions are free to function without any interference from the State."

He said that now there seemed to be no resistance. Mujahideen commanders to continue with their confrontation policy but for the fact that they fear loss of their followers in refugee camps who once gone to their homes will forget about these leaders.

Referring to the mines, the Afghan diplomat said that the mines found in Afghanistan were much less than the number of 20 to 40 million reported by certain quarters.

Firstly, we have cleared all the mines from the areas where we are in our control. We did not have any difficulty in doing that because Af-

ghan and Soviet troops officially mined the land; and we have all the maps to locate and destroy them. But of course in those areas which are under the control of Mujahideen, it would be difficult to locate them. But then the responsibility of the damage to human lives by these mines is on the shoulders of the other side. Because we have offered full help in the de-mining operation with the help of the maps, but this has been rejected by them."

War slows down refugees' return

Clearing mines and rebuilding the economy are other issues preventing the return of the refugees.

The UN deputy coordinator of Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan Zia Rizvi has asked for more funds for the UN demining program.

He said only 17 million dollars has been given by the donor countries for this program which is not enough. He said the UN has trained 10,000 Afghans in demining.

The UN demining program so far has had little success on the ground. Despite a lot of publicity the UN has defused very few mines in Afghanistan. Experts estimate the number of mines planted by the Soviets to be between 10 to 30 million.

7/15
AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Women Harassed

By Sheila Tofft

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN

SINCE its opening four months ago, the school for young Afghan women here has been harassed constantly.

The school has been flooded with leaflets condemning women's education as "immoral" and "against Islam." Teachers have been threatened by Muslim militants. Students are afraid to attend classes. And now the administrators say they must move the school or face closing.

"This harsh conservative Islam is not Afghan," says a woman associated with the school, asking not to be identified. "People are appalled at what is happening. But they don't dare stand up, because then they will be accused of not being good Muslims. And that's the kiss of death."

Peshawar, the hub of assistance for millions of Afghan refugees, is facing a wave of harassment against humanitarian aid organizations and women working in their programs.

In recent months, several Christian and private agencies working in nearby refugee camps and in Afghanistan have been attacked and their facilities ransacked. Some prominent Afghan moderates have fled Peshawar. And educated Afghan women say they live in fear and uncertainty.

"This is one of the most difficult and depressing periods for Afghans," says Nancy Hatch Dupree, an American who has lived here for 35 years. "Whoever is manipulating this is pushing the button which creates emotional chaos."

No one is sure who is behind the extremist groups that call themselves the Council of Islamic Jihad and Mujahid Brothers.

Some blame prominent Afghan fundamentalists who are worried that their influence is waning. Some Arab-backed Islamic relief agencies, which fund Afghan moderates and militants alike, also are widely suspected. Diplomats trace some of the harassment to hostels run by some of these groups for Muslim militants on their way to fight in Afghanistan.

"Many of these Muslim groups do legitimate humanitarian work but have a different view than the West," says a prominent Afghan. "They may give humanitarian aid, but they also don't hesitate to provide military help and push their own agenda."

With corruption widespread among resistance politicians and the refugees dismayed at the leadership vacuum, fundamentalism continues to have a hold on young Afghans.

"The young have been brought up in the terror of the jihad [Islamic holy war] and have missed out on a purposeful education," says Mrs. Dupree. "But now they have no education and no jobs and no longer have a cause."

Afghan refugees confused but determined to go home

PESHAWAR — "We never thought it would be this long," says 40-year-old Khayal Mohamad, an Afghan refugee from Qargha district near the Afghan capital of Kabul. "It is our 12th summer in Pakistan," he adds.

"We had to leave home because of the communists and the Soviets. Now the Soviets are gone, but the Communists who made us refugees are still in Kabul," Khayal Mohamad continues. The difference, he says, "is that the people in Kabul are Afghans, too, and it is difficult to say how we will sort out our differences."

Khayal Mohamad does not think his dream of returning home will come true very soon, but he hopes "for a solution, so that I will not spend another summer here."

Another refugee, Abdul Rasool, from the Musa Qala district in the southwestern Afghan province of Helmand, also must contemplate the future. And although Rasool's reasons for fleeing Afghanistan and seeking refuge in Pakistan are similar to Khayal Mohamad's, his plans for the future are different. He has decided to go home.

"The Soviets are no longer in my district, and the harvest has been good this year," Rasool says, and that is enough reason for him to return to his homeland.

Rasool does not see the regime the Soviets left behind in Kabul as an obstacle to his returning home. "I do not think of it, the regime is very much. Once I am home, I think we will find a way to deal with each other," he says.

Such diverse views are no longer uncommon among the refugees. Near the Northwest Frontier town of Peshawar, where Khayal Mohamad and more than two million other Afghan refugees live in the unbearable summer heat of more than 50 degrees Celsius, the prospects for a political solution in Afghanistan seem dim.

"The refugees thought that once the Soviets were out, they would soon be able to go home," says Hamed Karzai, the external affairs spokesman for the Afghan Interim Government (AIG), the coalition body of the resistance.

"The Soviets have gone, and the refugees are still here, it is frustrating for them," he adds. "Everybody thought the regime would be toppled soon after the Soviet withdrawal. But that did not happen. So now the situation is confusing for them."

According to Karzai and other observers of the Afghan conflict, the refugees' frustration has been increased by the apparent lack of a viable alternative presented by the resistance.

"Afghans fought to free their homeland from the Soviets, that they accomplished. The next thing they wanted to do was to topple the Soviet-installed regime still in place in Kabul, but in that they somehow failed," explained a well-connected Afghan intellectual who spoke on the condition his name not be used. He said that, given the "anarchy among the resistance," the refugees feel their "sons and brothers, who fought hard in the Jihad (holy struggle),

will not be able to get rid of the Kabul regime quickly.

Unlike the tense situation in Peshawar, the situation is calm in the Pakistani province of Balochistan, which is home to 150,000 and more than one million other Afghan refugees.

The Afghans in Balochistan feel satisfied that their struggle resulted in the departure of Soviet troops. They are also convinced that their next major decisions will be made at home.

"We have a strong tribal system here," explains Abdul Ahad, a tribal chieftain from the Popalzai tribe. "The loyalties are not to anything, but the tribe and their elders. This has been our system for hundreds of years. People in the southwestern region fought against the Soviet invaders, and now they think they can settle the score with the regime from within Afghanistan," Ahad said.

Although economic factors are paramount in a refugee's decision to return to southwestern Afghanistan, Ahad says, the returnees no longer see the regime in Kabul as an immediate threat, nor do they see the resistance factions as a solution to their problems.

According to a recent report published by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), about 100 Afghan refugee families a day are leaving Balochistan for their home districts, primarily in Kandahar and Helmand provinces.

Based on interviews with Afghan refugees in Quetta, the capital of Balochistan province, the reason these refugees easily go back into Kandahar and Helmand is more logistical than political.

"It takes an Afghan refugee family only two days by foot to make it to their home town in Kandahar," according to Haji Malook of the New Serinam

refugee camp in Balochistan. "But then there are 3,000 families from the Sagzai tribe in our camp, who all came from the Jowzjani province in northern Afghanistan, and it takes them more than a month and a half to get home. Nobody has left yet," Malook says.

"If the situation turns bad for the refugees in Kandahar and Helmand, they can, within days, get back to Pakistan; but as for us, it takes months to come back, and we can not take that risk," Malook explained.

Most refugees interviewed in Peshawar and Quetta pointed to the need for further international assistance during what they termed "the next years of transition." They stressed that the flow of economic assistance from the outside world was crucial to their survival during the harsh years of the war and that it will take the same kind of help to see them through the period of reconstruction in Afghanistan.

"It was American and western humanitarian assistance that saved our lives," Yar Mohamad of Logar province pointed out. "The Americans even went one step further by helping out our brothers inside Afghanistan," he said.

Referring to the successful U.S. Cross-Border Humanitarian Assistance Programme for Afghanistan, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) representative for Afghanistan in Islamabad, the programme has delivered food, health- and education services into the rural areas of Afghanistan for the past five years.

Many Afghans feel there is strong popular support (A.I.D.) in the United States, which has strongly backed the Afghan struggle for self-determination and has

assisted the Afghan refugee population in Pakistan over the past decade. "It was God, or will and the Americans that enabled us to liberate Afghanistan from the Soviets," says Mohamad Aman, a 24-year-old Afghan refugee from Deh Sabz district near Kabul. "Look at everything America

According to one US official who closely monitors political developments regarding Afghanistan, "the United States has been with the Afghans from the very beginning, and it is a step of the way until they achieve the final victory of returning home in safety and honour." U.S.

has done for us. It gave us weapons to beat the Soviets with, and it gave us food and shelter. Now, the aid is based on the same principle. We want the friendship. Americans to help us win the political battle."

Mujahideen parties oppose UN repatriation scheme

The UN has started implementing a program of "voluntary repatriation" of Afghan refugees with the help of the Government of Pakistan. UN officials expect that a total of 250,000 refugees will return to Afghanistan within three months.

UN officials have set up 10 offices along the border with Afghanistan, four in Baluchistan and six in NWFP.

The ration card of each returning family will be bought for Rs.3300 (approximately \$150) in cash and 300 kilogram of wheat.

The UN says the reports sent by the UN officials in Afghanistan indicate that the situation is ripe for the return of the refugees. It also says that its officials in Pakistan have talked to refugees in the camps and a considerable number of them have indicated their willingness to return. Some refugees have left already and have resettled in their areas, the UN says.

The UN says that in addition to the

aid received by card holder refugees at the border, the UN will provide assistance to all returnees inside Afghanistan.

The Pakistan Government supports the program and cooperates with UN officials in implementing the repatriation scheme. The US government also supports the UN-sponsored return of the refugees.

The Mujahideen leaders oppose the program because they think the situation inside is not conducive to the safe return of the refugees. Some of the Mujahideen leaders have even called the repatriation program "a conspiracy against Jihad" and have asked the Pakistan Government to reconsider its policy.

Reports from across the Afghan border say that only a few families returned their ration cards and went to Afghanistan. A BBC correspondent says in Torkham post the UN office received no refugees on the first day of the UN repatriation program.

AFGHANS BEGIN GOING BACK — NEWS



THE FRONTIER POST

July 20, 1990

Shia Mujahideen form single party

The nine Iran-based Mujahideen parties are merged in a new organization called Hezb-e-Wahdat-i-Islami (Islamic Unity Party).

The new party was announced in Tehran, June 16.

A leader of the Wahdat party said in Peshawar the work to unify Shia parties started last Summer. He said the Shia parties have been able to solve their problems inside and outside Afghanistan.

It is believed that when the Shia parties were not given the representation they wanted in the Consultative Council in Rawalpindi, they decided to unite to strike a better deal for the Shia community in any political solution. The Rawalpindi Council formed the Afghan Interim Government.

Iranian authorities have played a key role in finding unity among Shia parties.

Shia parties, like the Peshawar-based parties, are composed of traditional and radical groups. The unity of Shia parties might serve as a model to unite Peshawar based parties. Abdul Ali Mazari has been appointed spokesman of the new party. Since the party

leader has not yet been announced, it might be run by a council rather by single leader.

Abdul Ali Mazari held a press conference in Peshawar on June 24, in which he outlined the election formula he brought with him. Mazari said instead of choosing a representative from each district, his party proposed choosing a representative for every 70,000 voters. Shia parties complain that the districts in Afghanistan are of different sizes. The former government created the districts to suit their policies.

He opposed any role of the OIC in supervising elections, and, instead, proposed supervision of elections by the UN, Pakistan and Iran. He accused the OIC of harboring a bias, an indirect reference to the influence Saudi Arabia in that organization.

He opposed the participation of communists in the elections. When asked, Iran did not object to the participation of selected people from the Kabul regime. He said his party followed an independent policy.

Mazari said Zahir Shah could take part in the election if he wanted because he was a Muslim and an Afghan.

Supervisory Council, Wahdat party to cooperate with one another

Representatives of the Supervisory Council (SC) of Jami'at and Hezb Wahdat Islami have agreed to coordinate military and political activities.

Hezb Wahdat Islami is a merger of nine Shia parties based in Iran. This new party was formed some months ago.

The document signed by both sides say that unity among the Mujahideen organization is necessary. It attempts to deal with the conspiracies of the regime, to foil outsider's attempts at preventing the establishment of an Islamic government in Afghanistan, and to give

a new life to the military and political activities of the Mujahideen.

The two sides have agreed to coordinate their political activities and to escalate the war against the regime. They have also decided to cooperate in the cultural field.

The document was signed by Mustafa Kazimi, a member of the Central Council of Wahdat party and Eng. Mir Husain, a member of the Political Committee of SC.

The two sides have agreed to prepare a meeting between the head of the SC, Ahmad Shah Masood and leaders of Wahdat party.

Ahmad Shah Masood has called the agreement a positive development which will benefit the people of Afghanistan.

< AFGHANews 7/1 ^

No accord between AIG, Shias

The three-week long talks between the Wahdat party and the AIG ended without a major achievement. The delegation of Iran-based Wahdat party left Peshawar on July 14 with a hope to continue discussions in the future.

A member of the delegation told reporters that they had useful talks in Peshawar. The delegation met with all the Mujahideen leaders within and outside the AIG and held talks with UN officials about humanitarian assistance to areas close to the Iranian border.

The delegation and AIG agreed on the constitution of a 12-member committee from both sides to deal with the problems between the Mujahideen in Uruzgan, Gharzi, Maidan and Bamyan provinces. The situation in Uruzgan is

tense because Hazara and Pushtun ethnic groups have clashed over control of land and pasture.

The Wahdat party delegation showed keen interest in the formation of a war council comprising the political leaders and commanders to escalate the war.

Viewers also exchanged over the issue of elections. The Wahdat party insisted that 25 percent of the representatives should come from the Shia population of Afghanistan.

The Wahdat party is opposed to the participation of refugees living in the West in the formation of a leadership council for the resistance, but they support participation of all Afghan Muslims in the election.

AFGHANews

July 15, 1990

Afghan scholars recommend new body, fresh strategy to topple Najib regime

A group of Afghan scholars who came to Peshawar at the invitation of the AIG has proposed the formation of a new political system for the opponents of the regime and adoption of a new strategy to solve the Afghan issue.

More than 20 scholars and ranking officers of the former king who live in exile, met in Peshawar from June 16 to 30 to advise the AIG about ways of getting out of the present stalemate situation.

In their proposal, presented to the AIG president, they called the present situation very sensitive, needing a new strategy. The proposal said besides the continuation of the armed struggle against the Kabul regime the Resistance needs to pay attention to the political aspects of the war.

The proposal criticized the AIG because of its failure to: move its headquarters into Afghanistan; to topple the Kabul regime and to bring all the resistance groups into its fold. It stresses the need for a new political situation and a new strategy to get rid of the Kabul re-

gime and establish a representative nation of a body to represent all Afghans opposed to the Kabul regime is recommended.

The proposal says if the AIG agrees with such a change, they are ready to work for the creation of the new political system.

The delegation has asked the AIG to express its views about the proposal within a month.

Although the proposal is not very clear about an alternative to the present political system, the members of the delegation have revealed their way of thinking about the future by talking to the media.

They want that a council from the representatives of all Mujahideen parties, some people in Kabul and the officials of the former government should be formed. The council should meet in a neutral country and give shape to the new strategy.

The members of the delegation have favored the formation of a neutral government for a transitional period. The transitional period is estimated up to three years. The transitional government should be formed from people

who are neither with the Kabul regime nor with the Mujahideen.

Such a government should pave the way for elections. They have not rejected the participation of the Kabul regime elections.

They believe such a setup will be acceptable to the Soviet Union and Najib will be forced to accept it because it can not survive without the Soviet support.

NAJIB READY TO SHARE POWER



AFGHANews 8/1

A group of students staged a demonstration in front of the Hotel where they stayed. They raised anti-American and anti-Zahir Shah slogans. The demonstration was organized by Hezb

It seems that the proposal of the delegation is not acceptable to most of the Mujahideen parties within and outside the AIG.

The proposal makes some people believe that the delegation wants to bring Zahir Shah to power.

A group of Ulama have criticized the invitation of former officials to visit Peshawar because they identify them with the policies that led to the communist take over in Afghanistan.

The members of the delegation have returned home waiting for the AIG formal response. The AIG cabinet met discussed the proposal and found no specific solution of the problem in it.

Frontier Post

7/17

IMPRESSIONS OF KABUL

Paul Bucherer-Dietschi of the Swiss Bibliotheca Afghanistanica visited Kabul from October 10-22, 1989 and wrote the following impressions of his visit. They are translated from the German by C.J. Brunner.

The city has spread out tremendously... North of Shahr-e Nau as far as the foot of the Khair Khana pass, new neighborhoods have risen, whose uniformly 5-storey apartment houses are lived in only by families of gov't employees, members of the Sarandoy, & PDPA party members. These districts strike one as almost self-contained, ghetto-like. Sentry posts are positioned on the approach streets, recalling the style of Soviet Central Asia. Uncontrolled development of private housing has occurred on the heights of Koh-e Asmai & Koh-e Sher Darwaza (for instance, from the overlook above Bagh-e Babur over to the noon gun - which is no longer fired in order 'to spare the nerves of the Kabulis').* Various renovations (e.g., the Arg, Abdur Rahman's tomb) are apparent, & a 17-storey building on the south side of Zarnegar Park houses the new main post office.

Throughout the city you run into a new building component - light metal shipping containers. Hauling them back would cost more in insurance than their value, so they can be picked up cheaply from shipping companies. Containers are seen singly & combined side by side or stacked, both in old & new construction areas (even in the back courts of Shor Bazaar & in the ICRC hospital & prosthesis ward). Complete streets of shops are assembled of these cheap, watertight modules. The sidewalls & the roofs are covered with thick layers of earth as barriers against cold & heat.

Food items are abundant but expensive. Fuel is scarce (including wood & charcoal). Gas is Afs. 1,500 a gallon in the bazaar, also rationed to state employees. Consumer & luxury goods, on the other hand, are abundant - but not personal computers (in contrast to Pakistan). Large numbers of surprisingly luxurious private cars circulate, as well as taxis & public transport. Electric power is reliable (less so in the city's outer districts). Telex lines for journalists work well, but there are no phone books. To get a number, one has to submit the appropriate name at the exchange.

The money bazaar is working fine. Hotel bills have to be paid at the official rate of 52 Afs. to the \$ (compared with the black market rate of Afs. 400). The Inter-continental costs \$103/night, the Kabul Hotel \$31 (but with poor food).

The ICRC Hospital in Kabul is exclusively for war-wounded, serving people from the provinces as well as Kabulis - even mujahids. There are many burn cases due to the constant use of magnesium flares during aircraft takeoffs & landings. The prosthesis ward employs many amputees. High-quality prostheses & wheelchairs are made & fitted. A computer is used to facilitate prisoner services, searching for missing persons & reuniting families.

The status of women in public is noticeably higher - about 2/3 of them travel unveiled & in Western dress. Kabuli women seem to have been in contact with foreign men in recent years. Dozens of red-blond, light-skinned children were noticed among 3-8-year-old boys. They are fully accepted by their friends; mostly of the lower class, they sell matches & cigarettes or peddle fruit & vegetables. No un-Afghan-looking girl was seen.

The curfew (10 p.m.- 5 a.m.) is strictly observed. The streets clear soon after dark, but one can walk without being halted.

In October the Kabul Hotel was busy with weddings. Uniforms or European dress is the norm, & only 1 wedding out of about 30 had traditional Afghan music, but guests are still separated by sex.

* The proofreader says that when he was in Kabul during Taraki's time, he was told the noon gun wasn't necessary because everyone had watches.

In the better neighborhoods (Shahr-e Nau, Wazir Akbar Khan), many houses are for rent - at most \$500/month, with services. Many streets are sealed off at either end - e.g., the avenue from Pashtunistan Square to the Aryana Hotel, which is well-maintained - as an accomodation for official guests.

Beggars are numerous, whether soliciting aggressively or lying on the pavement. Many are maimed, mostly missing a hand or a foot (due to anti-personnel mines?); another large group is comprised of old women, often in rags, & young mothers with infants.

Refugees from northern Afghanistan have taken over much of the menial work that used to go the Hazaras. These former merchants, artisans & peasants often have lost their families & are staying with distant relatives & getting by with occasional labor.

Yet every conversation was hopeful about the future. Zahir Shah was widely seen as the best solution. Ahmad Shah Masud was repeatedly named. The announcement at that time of the Society for the Preservation of the Nat'l Independence of Afghanistan was welcomed as a step toward involving non-partisan & responsible Afghans in the peace process.

There is a widespread decline of the party. Badges are not worn in public, & people look for work opportunities outside of the state apparatus in spite of the attraction of food & fuel coupons. In recent months, according to Bakhtar Airlines) over 70,000 people have travelled one-way from Kabul to Mazar-i-Sharif, who must include many families of party members.



Immigrant Slain At a Restaurant His Family Runs

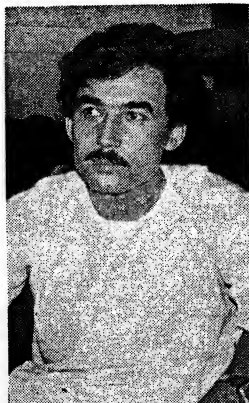
By EVELYN NIEVES

An Afghan immigrant who moved to New York eight years ago was shot and killed at his family-run fast-food restaurant in Brooklyn late Monday night, apparently by a customer who had refused to pay for his meal, the police said yesterday.

The shooting came on a busy, vibrant street of immigrant-owned stores in the East Flatbush section, where people are so accustomed to crime that the killing evoked more sadness than surprise.

"This is so terrible," said Allie Smith, a Jamaican who runs the Caribbean Cuisine Jerk Pork & Chicken, a restaurant across the street from where the shooting took place, near the Rutland Road IRT station. "We've known that family for years, and they are so very nice."

The victim, Hashim Gurvan, 33 years old, of Farmingdale, L.I., was shot Monday night around midnight at Star Fried Chicken, a mostly take-out restaurant at 1069 Rutland Road that he ran with his father and brothers.



Hashim Gurvan, who was killed Monday night in his family-run fast-food restaurant in Brooklyn.

A Curse and a Shot

After serving a sit-down customer, Mr. Gurvan asked the man to pay, the police said. The man then cursed at Mr. Gurvan, pulled out a semiautomatic pistol and fired once, hitting Mr. Gurvan in the chest before fleeing on foot.

Mr. Gurvan, who was married and had a 13-month-old daughter, was pronounced dead at 12:05 A.M. at Brookdale Hospital in Flatbush.

No arrests had been made.

The restaurant is one of the few businesses in the area that remains open almost 24 hours a day, other storeowners said. Most said they close their shops before midnight and do not venture out late at night.

Nasim Gurvan, the victim's 24-year-old brother, said their father usually ran the store during the day with another brother, while the victim, Hashim, usually worked nights.

"The argument my brother had with the gunman was minor," he said. "My brother was serving him. He gave him the chicken. The next thing, the guy is yelling and cursing. And then he shot him with a very big gun."

Mr. Gurvan said that in his native Afghanistan, his brother's killing would be avenged.

"This country should do what my country does," he said. "If someone kills somebody, the same way they killed them is the same way they are killed. If someone cuts off an arm, their arm is cut off. You guys should bring this law here because you need it."

NYT 8/8

DINING OUT

A New Taste (Afghani) in Huntington

By JOANNE STARKEY

HISTORIC Huntington Village now has an Afghani restaurant. Incongruous as that might seem, it is not a bad fit. Huntingtonians have long demonstrated their love for Greek food by supporting three storefront Greek restaurants within two blocks of each other. There are some similarities between the two cuisines: souvlaki becomes shish kebab and baklava translates to bughlava.

The new Afhrash Cafe is more sophisticated than most ethnic storefronts. It has white walls boldly bordered with a raspberry stripe, white tables, metal chairs with hot-pink cushions and black accents, including sleek jet pottery.

While the look is big city, the staff is hometown: sweet young women in white shorts and raspberry shirts who never lose their smiles, even when the kitchen falters. Pleasant as they are, they must be reminded to refill bread baskets and water glasses. Sometimes, they are also a tad confused. On my first visit, the waitress never mentioned that soup came with all entrees (nor did we receive any).

The cafe's ownership is the classic husband-wife team. Here, the wife is in the kitchen and the husband is everywhere: at the door greeting guests, opening wine bottles and in the kitchen pitching in. Despite the owners' frenetic efforts, service is slow, with long gaps between courses. Ravenous diners should zero in on the Afghani bread. It is a flat variety similar to pita, but with no pocket. It is served in warm squares and arries with butter pats on the side.

First courses are auspicious. A soup called aush is a must. It is a tomato-beef broth filled with homemade noodles, chunks of broccoli and carrots and tiny meatballs, and finished with a dollop of yogurt and mint. Afghani chicken soup is tasty, homemade and resembles grandma's, no matter what her nationality.

Afhrash Cafe

Good

255 Main Street (Route 25A, just east of Route 110), Huntington, 423-1225

Atmosphere: Sleek, slick storefront Afghani cafe. Service: Sweet but slow.

Recommended dishes: Bread, aush, chicken soup, shrimp cocktail, stuffed mushrooms, boulanee, boulanee kachaloo, manto, tooshpeera, Afghani salad, chicken chumpart, koozhob, labuli plov.

Price range: Lunch entrees are \$2.25 to \$6.95. Dinner: Appetizers, \$3.95 to \$6.95. Entrees (including soup) are \$8.95 to \$16.95.

Credit cards: All major cards.

Hours: 11 A.M. to 8 P.M., Sunday through Tuesday; 11 A.M. to 10 P.M., Wednesday and Thursday; 11 A.M. to midnight Friday and Saturday.

Reservations: Suggested on weekends. Wheelchair accessibility: No steps, restroom designed for the handicapped.

Rating:

Poor
Satisfactory
Good
Very Good
Excellent
Extraordinary

These ratings are based on the reviewer's reaction to food and price in relation to comparable establishments.

Appetizers continue the winning streak. Top honors go to boulanee and boulanee kachaloo: crisp, feather-light turnovers filled with scallions, leeks and spices, plus potatoes in the kachaloo.

Two homemade pastas are also light and lovely. Mantoo consists of three large meat-filled pasta pockets perfumed with cumin and topped with a sauce of mixed vegetables. Tooshpeera are tiny dumplings splashed with tomato and yogurt sauces.

The adventurous will also want to try the condiments on the table: a pot of homemade

chutney (a puree of scallions, mint, vinegar and spices) and a shaker of sumac (a deep-red Middle Eastern spice that adds zip). Conservative diners will be pleased with the familiar shrimp cocktail as three giants served the traditional way and the jumbo mushrooms stuffed with tasty crab meat.

Salads are disappointments. They are small (sauceur size) and in the case of the spinach salad, overpriced (\$4.95). It provided verdant spinach and a few mushroom slices, but none of the bacon or hard-boiled egg promised. The Afhrash Cafe salad, a marinated mix of endive, red and green cabbages and tomato, had no taste. The best salad selection is the Afghani (\$2.95): cucumber, tomato and red onion slices kissed with lemon juice.

Afghani entrees are mainly kebabs: the familiar shish kebab of beef, onions and green pepper; teka kebab, which eliminates the vegetables, and joesh (chicken) kebab. All offer very small portions of meat for the price (\$11.95 to \$12.95) and a mountain of lacy, tasty basmati rice.

Top taste honors go to koozhob, a long cylinder of flavor-packed ground beef. Most typically Middle Eastern is the kabuli plov, a must for rice lovers. Basmati rice is tossed with carrot matchsticks, raisins and almonds, then topped with a few chunks of tender braised beef. The dish has a sweet Middle Eastern flavor, with a fresh lemon or the side to provide the counterpoint.

Homemade Afghani desserts include bughlava a swirl of baklava and phirnee. The latter is a rosewater pudding that unfortunately tastes like rose-scented cosmetics smell. As a result, we abandoned the authentic at dessert time and enjoyed chocolate cake, cheesecake and chocolate chip all bakery-made items of good quality.

The Afhrash Cafe has no liquor license, but patrons are invited to bring their own wine.

NYT 7/22

HEARING TESTIMONY

Khalid Sekander testified before the Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe at a hearing held on 3 May, 1990, in Washington, D.C.. The hearing topic was Soviet Involvement in Afghanistan. Mr. Sekander sent us a copy of his statement.

...I wish to use this forum to express & illustrate the inconsistencies in policies practiced by all nations presently providing vital assistance programs to the Afghan people and, respectfully, recommend to this worthy Commission a simple solution to the complex problems of Afghanistan.

The repercussions of these mismanaged policies towards the Afghan people have resulted in a delay in the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, have intensified factionalism within the Afghan community, & have prolonged the misery & suffering of all Afghans.

Unfortunately, the forced Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan has not resulted in a free Afghanistan. On the contrary, the recovery of Afghanistan from a decade of Soviet butchery has been prolonged by the Soviet Union's continued intervention in the affairs of the Afghan people. The estimated \$350m per month in military assistance that Najibullah enjoys from the Soviet Union has, indeed, sustained his regime of terror in prolonging any peaceful resolution toward a free & democratic Afghanistan.

However, the Soviet Union is not alone in contributing to the delay in resolving the dilemmas of Afghanistan. The United States, Pakistan, & other assistance-providing nations have unwittingly compounded the Afghan dilemma through the inconsistent & uncoordinated administration of their vital assistance programs to the Afghan people. I am concerned that these inconsistencies in policy by all assistance-providing nations are actually inhibiting the reconstructive efforts in Afghanistan, undermining the self-determination of the Afghan people, & perpetuating the polarization within the Afghan community.

I shall now address some of these inconsistencies. Firstly, inconsistency in US policy toward the Afghan people can be evidenced by the January 1990 suspension of a \$3m food program sponsored by AID. This suspension occurred in the cold of winter when...food becomes scarce. At a time when the Afghan people needed food most, they were starved because of political indecisions &/or inconsiderations.

Another example of reckless decision making took place in the summer of 1989 when critical arms shipments to the mujahideen were halted. This occurred at a time when the mujahideen desperately needed these military supplies to defend their homeland & to protect their families from the encroachment of Najibullah's determined & well-equipped army. If these supplies had been available, not only would the chances of a mujahideen victory over Najib's army have been significantly increased, but more lives & limbs would have been saved...

Moreover, this US policy gave the Soviet Union & Najib the advantage of prolonging the survival of their regime in Afghanistan, while, at the same time, continuing their murderous campaign against the freedom-loving Afghans. According to Congressman Don Ritter, "American officials, because they have not taken greater charge of the aid distribution programs in Afghanistan, are potentially countermanding the will of the Afghan people."

The stalemate in Afghanistan is also compounded by the present US policy of funneling aid through Pakistan. Rumors are flying around that some Pakistani officials are biased in their distribution of assistance programs. If true, this type of behavior on the part of the Pakistani officials ferments an environment where corruption, greed, & suspicion become commonplace. This, in turn, will increase factionalism & conflict within the Afghan community.

On the same note, the Saudi presence in affairs of the Afghan people is also a concern. The Saudi's, in their meritorious efforts to assist the Afghan people, have unknowingly

& unintentionally perpetuated the factionalism within the Afghan community through their policy of favoring Sunni fundamentalists in order to offset Shiite influence.

As long as the US, Pakistan & other assistance-providing nations formulate policy in a self-interested & unsynchronized fashion, all efforts toward reconstruction, re-development, self-determination, & freedom for the Afghan people will be restricted &, at best, incremental.

...Within one year of the forced Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the world has witnessed the disintegration of the Soviet empire. The past events at the recent May Day parade in the Soviet Union will attest to that. Truly, the Pandora's box of the Soviet Union, nationalism, was opened by Afghan hands. The credit is due & the Afghan people are waiting for a consistent plan of action.

Therefore, I recommend...that all nations providing any form of assistance to the Afghan people formulate themselves into a unified int'l task force targeted with resolving the Afghan question. I firmly believe that such an approach toward the Afghan people will ensure unity & cohesion within the Afghan community since, if such a body exists, there would be only one source for valuable assistance upon which the mujahideen & the Afghan people could depend. There would be only one purse string. Also it would provide morale & a good example for the Afghan people to follow. Moreover, such an entity should eliminate the many self-interested groups seeking to extend their influence & impress their beliefs on the Afghan will and would, subsequently, diminish factionalism within the Afghan community.

Also, such an organization...could put pressure on the Soviet Union to come to the negotiating table &, thereby, expedite a peaceful resolution towards a free & democratic Afghanistan.

...As long as nations providing assistance to the Afghans operate assistance programs independently of each other & with differing motivations, factions will emerge professing the ideology & beliefs of their supporters. As evidenced by the present infighting within the Afghan community, inconsistent & self-interested policies have resulted in an unhealthy form of competition between Afghans to see who gets more money & support.

For these reasons,,, I implore this honorable Commission...to advise & influence all assistance-providing nations to coordinate, implement & administer their assistance programs via a unified body tasked with the liberation of Afghanistan from the ravages of war, death, poverty & famine.

***MR. KHALID SEKANDER** was born in Afghanistan and is currently employed by the Heritage Reporting Corporation. He is the Official Recorder for the U.S. House of Representative Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Affairs. He has written several articles on Afghanistan and has participated in conferences concerned with humanitarian and political issues sponsored by the White House, Freedom Foundation and the Voice of America.*



IFAD/UNCHR/IRANIAN AFGHAN REFUGEE ENVIRONMENTAL/INCOME PROGRAM

The International Fund for Agricultural Development and UN High Commission for Refugees are cooperating with Iran in a program to restore rangelands and provide income for thousands of Afghan refugees in the South Khorasan area of Iran.

IFAD reports that the 2.4 million Afghan refugees in Iran contributed to overgrazing and deforestation.

Local Iranian poor and Afghan refugees leadership at the grass-roots level will take part in designing programs. They include: income-generation projects such as carpet weaving, livestock management, and crop production. The project also includes fixing sand dunes, upgrading rangelands, and irrigation. Herdsmen will get feed to encourage participation in the programs. Considera-

Afghan Networker 7/18

tion is being given to stiff fines to prevent illegal grazing and cutting trees. Licenses for grazing and collecting fuelwood may be considered to raise additional funds to speed up programmes to protect the environment.

It is estimated that the program will earn \$627,000 the first year.

President Idriss Jazairy of IFAD says that "Not only does it signal a significant departure from standard programmes in environmental and refugees development, it also provides a framework and strategy for ensuring a pattern of sustainable development."

The agreement signed by IFAD, UNCHR, and the Iranian government calls for \$20.4 million, with Iran contributing \$2 million. Iran has been supplying subsistence support for the refugees. Now after a period of absence from IFAD, Iran has committed to participate in the "third replenishment of IFAD's financial resources and will be an active member of IFAD's executive board.

For further information, contact Vera Gathright at :

(202) 289-3812

From the Editor:

A zippy letter from our treasurer to some ex-Peace Corps Afghanistan Volunteers brought the FORUM 15 new subscribers this month. Welcome! We hope you enjoy reading more than you could possibly want to know about Afghanistan as much as we like collecting the information & putting it together. Its verisimilitude we leave to you. We hope you will send us any information about Afghanistan you come across.

The Afghan Mission to the UN is making a concerted effort to promote the ROA's reconciliation programs. (We were unreconciled at not getting a full quota of Bakhtar news releases this time.) Never mind, the Mission would like to send copies of "important information" that comes from Kabul to those who are really interested in Afghanistan. So to get a scoop on the hot poop, send a card to the Mission, 866 UN Plaza, New York,, NY 10017, with your name & address & ask to be put on their mailing list.

Thanks to all of you who sent us goodies, & to the AKBAR Resource & Information Centre for permission to reproduce its map (p. 36). We eagerly await the mail.

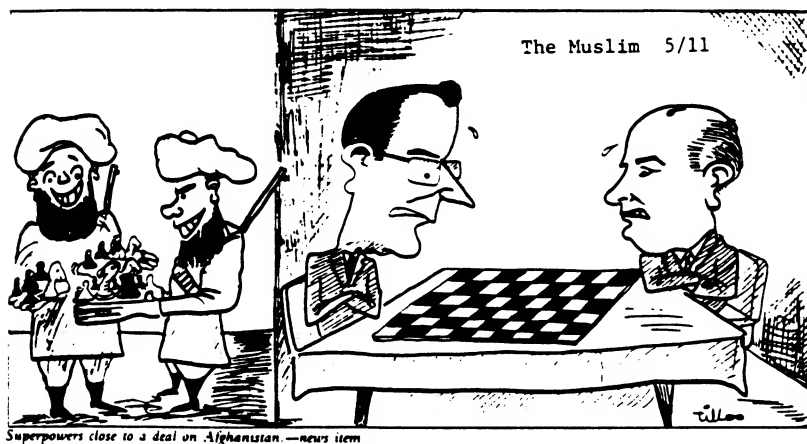
We did not put many casualty figures in this issue, but Afghans are still being killed & wounded in larger numbers than seem necessary. We'd welcome your opinions on this. The deadline for the next issue is 10/15.

EVENTS

"Culture of Afghanistan: Problems of Continuation & Future Perspectives" is the title of an int'l conference to be held in Krakow, Poland, on 4-6 April, 1991. The meetings are sponsored by the Inst. of Oriental Philology of Krakow Univ., the Polish Ethnological Society & Afghanica: the Afghanistan Studies Newsletter. The registration fee for the English language conference is \$100 and should be paid by the end of October. Checks, in US \$, should be made payable to Dr. Anna Krasnowolska. Proposals for papers, also due by the end of October, should be sent to Dr. Krasnowolska, Inst. of Oriental Philology UJ, Collegium Paderevianum, Al. Mickiewicza 9/11, Krakow, Poland.

"Crisis in Afghanistan: Past, Present & Future" will be the title of a panel at the Mid-Atlantic regional meeting of the Association for Asian Studies on October 21 at Rutgers University. Scheduled participants & their topics are Rhea Talley Stewart, "From Monarchy to Russian Withdrawal: Prospects in a New Global Framework"; Ernest Greene, "The Tragedy of the Afghan People"; Amin Wakman, "Afghanistan, Non-Alignment & the Role of Super Powers: An Appraisal;" Stephen Galster, "Two Decades of U.S. Policy in Afghanistan: 1979-1990." Moh'd I. Khan will moderate the panel which will begin at 11:15 a.m. A similar panel was held at the University of Toronto on August 23.

Watercolors & sketches of Afghans by Peter Latham were on display at the Strood Public Library in Kent, England, this summer. The proceeds were donated to Afghanaid, a British charity providing humanitarian aid to Afghans. Note cards featuring 4 of the watercolors are available from Afghanaid, 1st Floor, 290-292 Pentonville Road, London, England N1 9NR, England, for \$2.50 (+ \$1.50 postage to the US).



Frank Joseph Shulman (ed.). DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON ASIA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL OF CURRENT INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH. Vol.12, no.1 & 2 (Winter/Summer 1989).

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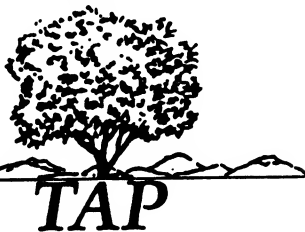
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ORGANIZATIONS

The TREES FOR AFGHANISTAN PROJECT (TAP) is the brainchild of some members of Peace Corps Afghanistan Group XV who want to participate in the rebuilding of that country. Their plan is to provide an opportunity for former volunteers, & per-



haps others, to return to Afghanistan for short periods of time to work with rural women to plan for, select & plant fruit & other trees. The goal would be to increase the ability of women to meet their own & their families' needs more effectively through the planting & raising of trees.

Aware that the project can not yet be carried out, the group is directing its

AFGHANICA, The Afghan Studies Newsletter will now be edited from Poland. Future correspondence & subscriptions (in Pounds Sterling) should be addressed to Afghanica, Inst. for Oriental Philology, UJ, Krakow, Al. Mickiewicza 9/11, Poland.

energies to being fully prepared when the time comes. To this end, they would like to hear from ex-PCVs & others: Your reaction to the idea; could you participate &, if so, for how long; Afghans who might be interested in helping; organizations that might give technical or administrative support; would you like to be on their mailing list. Write to TAP at Suite 461, 60 Skiff Street, Hamden, CT 06517.

SHELTER NOW has been compensated;

Shelter Now International was compensated for damages inflicted to it by angry protester about two months ago. A cheque for Rs. 5 million (227,000 US dollars) was presented to the president of the committee, by the NWFP Chief Minister, in a meeting held in Nasir Bagh Refugees Camp. US and Australian ambassadors and workers of some relief organizations were present in the meeting.

gunmen fired at Shelter Now President, Thor Armstrong's car. Both Armstrong and his son, who was in the car at the time, were not hurt. The incident has caused anxiety among foreign relief workers working in the NWFP.

The AIG has soundly condemned violence against relief organization, since it hurts the cause of all Afghans.

On June 16, 1990, unidentified

AFGHANews 7/1



From *Bashir ul-Mominat*, the newspaper of the Afghan Women's Resource Centre in Peshawar, Vol.1, #5, May 1990, p. 6.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION & ROJDI by Gregory Possehl & M.H. Raval, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1989. This study of the Harappan town of Rojdi presents new insights into Harappan civilization. xv, 197 pp., 46 pl., 85 figs., 39 tables. ISBN 90 04 09157 2. \$50.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE by M.A. Dandamaev, translated into English by W.J. Vogelsang, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1989. xv, 373 pp., + 14 pl. on 16 p., 2 maps on 1 spreadsheet. ISBN 90 04 09172 6. \$90. A discussion of the political events that marked the rise & fall of the Persian Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550-330 B.C.), extensively using contemporary sources.

SEEDS, the 5th Report of THE AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF AFGHANISTAN of the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, June 1990.. 45 pp. The 4th Report, "Fertilizer" was issued in February. The Reports are aimed at being guides for aid agencies involved in projects in Afghanistan. The ANNUAL REPORT of the Swedish Committee for 1989 is also available. Copies of the publications are available from The Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, G.P.O. Box 689, Peshawar, Pakistan.

SOVIET WAR LIABILITIES: MEASURING ECONOMIC DAMAGES IN AFGHANISTAN by Nake M. Kamrany, Dept. of Economics, Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0253, June 1990.

The July 1990 issue of LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN contains articles on the 25-year Khalq-Parcham split, a possible Shi'ite unity party, political realities in Kunar & Laghman, agriculture in Kandahar, food shortages, Bacha Saqqao & excerpts from a diary of student in Kabul in April & May, 1980. The issue also notes 2 books: AFGHANISTAN TERRE BRÛLÉE, CENT JOURS AVEC LA RESISTANCE by journalist Etienne Dubuis, Ed, 24 heures, Lausanne. 246 pp. LA MÈRE, histoire vraie, drame tragique d'un mère et de son fils, mutilé pendant la guerre d'Afghanistan, published in the US in 1989, 109 pp. [Have any of our readers seen this one?]

"Evolution of a Revival: The Ersari Turkoman Carpet" by Chris Walter in THE ORIENTAL RUG REVIEW, Aug/Sept. 1990, Vol. 10. #6. P. 64.

"Afghanistan: Political Exiles in Search of a State" by Barnett Rubin in JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Vol. 18, 1990, published for the South Carolina Political Science Assn. by Clemson Univ.

AFGHANISTAN. A REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY by Erwin Grotzbach, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1990. xvi + 488 pp.+ maps & figures. DM 75. Available from Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Hindenburgstrasse 40, P.O. Box 11 15 53, D-6100 Darmstadt 11, Germany. ISBN 3-534-06886-6. (in German)

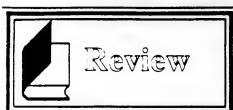
For readers who were desolate at being unable to decipher the words of Najibullah in the last FORUM because of our microscopic print, there is good news. "He Who Is Umbrellaed by God & People Is Crowned With Triumph," Najibullah's account of the Tanai coup attempt, has been issued as a red booklet by the Alberuni Publishing House. Copies are available from the Afghan Mission to the UN, 866 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Volume 4 of the "Pushtu-Pushtu Descriptive Desk Dictionary" was recently published in Kabul by the Academy of Sciences. For a description see p. 24.

"Qalam" is the new publication of the Writers Assn. of the ROA (see p. 24).

"Al-Jamatul-Islamia" is a magazine published in Arabic by the ROA Islamic Research Center (see p. 23).

The AFGHAN NETWORKER has prepared a sampling of approaches toward unification, democratization & reconstruction in Afghanistan. The 2,500 word paper is available for \$1 from The Int'l Center for Dynamics of Development, 4201 S. 31st St., #616, Arlington, VA 22206.



Panjshir During the War is the title of a book recently published by the young Afghan writer, Abdul Hafiz Mansoor.

The book, written in Dari - the native language of the writer, is 171 pages, supplemented with rare pictures of the people involved in the struggle.

The writer, born in the Panjshir, chose to write about the fighting in that area in the early years of the war. He interviews fighters and commanders involved in the war, gleaned information about their experiences. After taking refuge in Pakistan, he often traveled to the Panjshir, keeping in touch with developments in the valley.

The first chapter of the book deals with the Panjshir's distinct geographical structure and its people. Following chapters describe in detail the 1975 Panjshir uprising against Daud, including names of most of those involved in it.

The accounts of the 1979 uprising against the communist regime under the leadership of Masood sets the main theme of the rest of the book.

The writer reviews seven offensives launched against the valley, tactics

used on each side, and casualties.

The Panjshir's importance as a Mujahideen base and the exemplary organizational structure of the Mujahideen is discussed briefly.

The humanitarian aspects of the war are not forgotten. The plight of the refugees during the seventh offensive is discussed in full detail, as the author was among them.

The writer sheds light on the 1983 cease-fire between Masood and the Soviets, giving reasons for the one year arrangement.

One might criticize the writer for his lack of objectivity. As a young child he saw his civilian relatives gunned down by Soviet troops without reason; his village totally destroyed. Criticism of the Soviets comes naturally to him.

Such a small weakness does not decrease the value of his honest attempts to portray the heroic struggle of the people of the Panjshir Valley against a ruthless super power.

For a high-school graduate, a book of such quality is a major achievement.

The book can be ordered from
Jamiat Political Office
P.O. Box 264 G.P.O. Peshawar.

Its price outside Pakistan is 5 US \$ including mailing costs.

AFGHANews 8/1

Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns: The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province. By STEPHEN ALAN RITTENBERG. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1988. 286 pp. \$27.75.

Although the history of India's North-West Frontier Province has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years, Stephen Rittenberg's study is now the best available on the Frontier's complicated political history in the last years of British rule. Rittenberg analyzes in detail the growth of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar movement, which provided the Indian National Congress with a powerful political base in the province. With a base among the Frontier's Pakhtuns, the Khudai Khidmatgars gave the Congress a foundation for local organization more powerful than it obtained among Muslims anywhere else in the subcontinent. But in the years immediately before partition the power of the Khudai Khidmatgars could not withstand the upsurge of communalism in the subcontinent as a whole. In his final chapters Rittenberg traces the communal tensions that finally undermined the power of the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Congress and, in the referendum of July 1947, brought the Frontier into Pakistan.

The key to Rittenberg's study is the concept of "ethnic nationalism." Rittenberg seeks to define in his early chapters the meaning of Pakhtun ethnicity and to show how it shaped Pakhtun life. His most important contribution is in showing how class differences, shaped largely by the economic and political influence of British rule, interacted with Pakhtun culture in the twentieth century to shape the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Although he is often vague about the meaning of nationalism, he suggests that the translation of the traditional Pakhtun code (Pakhtunwali) into the cultural foundation for a national movement came about largely as the result of increasing class tensions in Pakhtun society. Rittenberg is not the first to note the tension between senior Khans, favored by British administration, and junior Khans, who were increasingly restive under the British. But he links such class animosities in the early twentieth century to increasing popular resentment at the failure of the senior Khans to maintain the expected cultural obligations of the Pakhtun code. As the Khudai Khidmatgars began to challenge the power of the British, class resentment against senior Khans combined with a defense of Pakhtunwali to shape a powerful Pakhtun nationalist movement. Although Rittenberg draws few theoretical implications from his argument, it is one of potentially wide comparative significance. The case of the Pakhtuns seems to provide an important example of a movement in which class and culture interacted to define the emergence of a nationalist movement.

This is not to imply that Rittenberg attempts any sort of simplistic explanation based on class identities. In fact, the politics of Pakhtun nationalism continued to be dominated by landed khans, even if of the junior variety. Nationalist politics also continued to reflect the local rivalries implicit in Pakhtunwali itself. Rittenberg analyzes in considerable detail the nature of Khudai Khidmatgar and Congress organization and the manner in which the shape of the movement varied from area to area. He also shows how Frontier politics were transformed once Pakhtun nationalists were able to gain power within the structure of provincial legislative politics. Rittenberg's details in fact focus at times to overwhelm the underlying themes of his analysis.

The future of his final chapters, however, is clear—the conflict between Pakhtun nationalism and the communalism that finally forced the Frontier into Pakistan. Although of central importance from the 1930s onward, this conflict was, as Rittenberg sees it, in no way predetermined. Islamic identity was itself a central element in Pakhtun culture and thus in Pakhtun ethnic nationalism. But as party politics emerged in the 1940s, opposition escalated between the Congress and the Muslim League, which gained its initial base among those excluded by Abdul Ghaffar Khan's movement—senior Khans, urban Muslims, and non-Pakhtuns. Nevertheless Muslim communalism became a serious threat to Pakhtun nationalism only when the communal crisis stalking the rest of India threatened to overwhelm the Frontier in late 1946 and 1947. As Rittenberg sees it, a sense of immediate crisis brought on by widespread communal violence in India as a whole pushed Pakhtun politics into an old political pattern. In the face of a looming crisis, Pakhtuns submerged their factional divisions in a common commitment to Islam. Traditional religious leaders, long active mediators in Pakhtun society, took center stage. In spite of all the transformations in twentieth century politics, it was the resurgence of an old political pattern that lay at the heart of the triumph of communalism in 1947.

This argument is a persuasive one, but some of Rittenberg's own evidence also suggests its limitations. Although the Muslim League undoubtedly gained markedly in strength in late 1946 and 1947, it remained at its weakest in the Peshawar Valley, where ethnic nationalism had gained its strongest hold. Did the retreat to Islam in a time of crisis really encompass, then, the entire Pakhtun community, or had the changes that produced Pakhtun nationalism effected a more deep-seated transformation in the relationship between ethnic identity and Islam? How had the rise of Pakhtun nationalism itself affected the structure of Islamic leadership in those parts of the Frontier most deeply affected by the Khudai Khidmatgar movement? One would need answers to such questions to evaluate more fully what happened in 1947. But despite such questions, Rittenberg's valuable book should become a standard account of the Frontier's history in the years before 1947.

THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES

DAVID GILMARTIN
North Carolina State University

New magazine to cover teachings of Islam

"Al-Jamatu'l-Islamiya" is the name of the magazine published in Arabic language by the Islamic Research Centre of the RA.

The articles of the quarterly magazine are being written by the religious scholars, lecturers and researchers of the Islamic University.

The articles in the magazine cover results of Islamic research and religious subjects like interpretations, the Prophet's sayings, Fiqh, Islamic law, belief, philosophy, Islamic history in Afghanistan and other religious topics.

The main objective behind publication of this magazine is maintaining of relations between the Islamic University of Afghanistan and the Islamic countries. This will enable religious scholars of

our country to utilize the experiences and results achieved in Islamic research in other Islamic countries and thus upgrade their religious knowledge, create new works and conduct new Islamic research in the country.

The Islamic Research Centre, besides publishing this magazine has published a number of valuable religious books like "Tanwirulabeen", in three volumes, "Propheet Mohammad Dar Shirkhwarag", "The History of Holy Khatibah of Kandahar", "Faqr-ul-See", and "Andehabul Masabih" etc.

(By: Nadim)

KT 6/23

Pushtu-Pushtu descriptive dictionary, reliable source for researchers

The fourth volume of Pushtu-Pushtu Descriptive Desk Dictionary has been recently published by Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Afghanistan. The publishing of this great scientific work helps Pushto learners and researchers to enrich and complete their linguistic research and studies in Pushto language.

This volume is compiled and edited by a group of scholars and researchers in Pushto language, namely: Messafer Raseekh-ali, Naseer Honar Pushtoon, Mohammad Naeem Salarzal, Azizullah Amirkhail, Ali Habibullah Mangal and Mohammad Ayyedi. It covers from Sh. to K letters and includes 9800 words in 966 pages.

The first volume of this dictionary from A-P was published in 1979 with 928 pages and 9600 words, the second volume from T-Kh came out in 1981 with 971 pages and 10400 words and the third volume from D-S was published in 1982 with 968 pages and 8955 words.

As mentioned in an introduction of this series, great emphasis has been made to compile and prepare this larger dictionary more scientifically from linguistic viewpoint; thanks to the scientific critics and views received to the Academy of Sciences by Pushto learners and scholars at home as well as abroad.

Some readers criticize that words having foreign origin but commonly used in Pushto language have been included in the dictionary while pure Pushto words have been omitted. However, in the introduction it is emphasized that such omission has not been intentional. The Academy's pen-fellow members have taken these errors and deficiencies into consideration and when the last volume of the dictionary is going to be made ready for print the omitted words will also be published as a supplement.

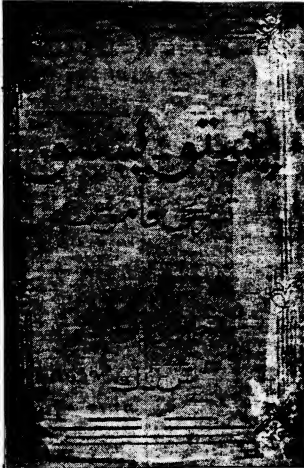
Foreign words have not replaced pure Pushto words, the introduction says. It was noticed at the beginning of the project that some foreign words should also be included in the dictionary. It had not been aimed, at the outset, to prepare a completely pure Pushto dictionary. The main objective was actually to bring out a dictionary of vital importance to be useful for readers of all walks of life.

The use of foreign commonly used words has not been the initiative of the compilers of the dictionary. In other famous dictionaries, such as Pushto-Russian dictionary by M.G. Aalanov, the Amid Persian-Persian dictionary by Hasan Amid, the Almondji Arabian-Arabian dictionary, these foreign words have also been included.

As the previous ones, the fourth volume has also a two-page pronunciation guide, which includes usual letters, phonetic letters, examples and phonetic pronunciation. A four-page abbreviation in three parts is also included in this book: Part I consists of natural, social and human sciences and knowledges, part II describes the names of poets and part III covers linguistic and grammatical abbreviations. There is also a three-page punctuation marks in the book. The book is calligraphed by Naseer Honar Pushtoon and printed with a circulation of 2000 copies in State Printing House, Kabul. The fourth volume of Pushtu-Pushtu Descriptive Dictionary is available at the price of Af. 620.

(A. Raseeq Nasimli)

KT 6/24



"QALAM" WRITERS' NEW PUBLICATION

The first issue of "Qalam" publication of the Writers Association

of Afghanistan appeared with a beautiful format in eight pages recently.

"Qalam" will reflect in its pages the political, social, literary and cultural materials and the view points there upon, of the intellectuals and writers of the country.

Similarly, it will reflect political, social and literary critique cultural and literary phenomena of the country as well as the world at large, poems, stories and interviews with the outstanding men of culture and letter and some artists.

There will also appear about the talented youth in this magazine.

Readers can obtain this publication from the book sales outlet of the Writers Association in Shahr-i-Nau and the first floor of Afghan store.

(By KT reporter)

KT 6/21

Elias tackles problems of research, writing, on Islamic religious past

Among the scholarly challenges that face Amherst faculty members, those that confront Jamal J. Elias, assistant professor of religion, are more unusual than most.

What do you do when you want to study an important 14th-century religious text, at least 19 versions exist, and it has never been systematically edited?

It is not computers but ancient manuscripts that challenge Elias the most in his field of scholarship. He is studying Simnani, a mystical Islamic philosopher and teacher who died in 1336.

Simnani is known to have written at least 59 works in Arabic and Persian; of these, only five or six have ever been edited. Elias is studying a major work of Simnani's that has never been edited definitively: his *Commentary on the Qur'an*. There are 19 scattered versions of the *Commentary*, and with trips to places as far afield as Turkey.

The earliest known version of the *Commentary* was written within seven years of Simnani's death. Some copies of it may still be undiscovered, perhaps in Afghanistan. When the Soviets invaded that country, the owners of private book collections often tried to save manuscripts from destruction by loading them up on donkeys and dumping them in library courtyards.

"For all I know," Elias says, "uncatalogued in some library in Afghanistan, or in somebody's private collection, there is the original autograph of this book."

Amherst College
Alumni Magazine
Summer 1990



Poet skillfully depicts the guilty

in his poetry

"BOWLAY" a disabled wing-cut pigeon, uses trap free-flying nobles at sight. The writer of the nice collection Ali Gul Paiwand in sweet delicate warm tempers translocates his innate poetical senses of the hunting human origin and the nature-unpalatable in fifty proud pieces. The master piece lays bare that Paiwand is truly expressive to sketch the inner spirit of unware guilty innocent pigeon and the lustrous soul of hunting man in comparison to what the uncolleagues nature has trapped in history of life. Who is guilty, the pigeon which tricks her sister?

The hunter who condones a lust? Or the unconsciously cruelly-sketches behaviorism set out by nature?

Paiwand looks back to the "treasures" of history traces out God-ordered punishment of the brutal hunting drives. But still leaves open the ultimacy and details from prejudice which adds to attractiveness of his pieces. The poet never, in his book, leads the reader to the belief, as if the Messenger Noah's term of thunderous storm has ended. No this does re-appear in the human inside and the God's punity while apparently ended in simple work.

Paiwan says:
The olive branch at mouth;
In despair and fear

Wings up with halldensation;
Signaled from the sky,
"Tow back the ship to the bank"

The storm died out, the storm died out,
The night torn off,
The dawn breaks out,
The blackout (bebeles),
The sorrow merged with sorrow,

"Tow back the ship to the bank,

The storm died out, the storm died out,
The land visible,
Waves break apart,
The griefs are down,

"Tow back the ship to the bank"
The storm died out, the storm died out,

"BOWLAY" is a truly constructive masterpiece, responsive to the over-arching thirst of souls. It mirrors the general afflictions in epigrams of the

life and their grassroots depths in Man's nature, his ambiguities and doubts. The poetic pictures are exceptionally delicate and indirect. Rarely

do the other poets have elucidated their inner experiences in such un-stereo typed style.

KT 7/15

Contemporary Pashto Poets

Tri-Patchka



Ali Gul Paiwand

Born in March, 1949 in Pashad village of Kunar province, Ali Gul Paiwand received his primary education in his home-village and his secondary and high education in Kabul Avicenna school and Kabul Teachers Training College. Paiwand received his B.

Selsal and Shamama

Here, there was life and civilizations,
Mosques and guesthouses
Here even from Chinae
The guest were coming and were guesthouses
Selsal said before my eyes
I was standing
That on that castle
The revenge fire was burning
We were standing silent,
There were Shamama and monks
In the name of the God of holiness,
Simple hearts were palpating
It was an early evening
The white cloud was appearing
And the sky ground its teeth.
An old astronomer prophesied
Here in red eyes the tears
And in wedding night lamentations.
In the clear river of beliefs
The narrow ways of the blood
Was opening to the river of the wishes
The pale flowers of beliefs.

...

Obaydullah Mahak
Born in 1954 in Qelasse Rahim village of Laghman province, he received primary education in his home-village and second-

dary education in teachers high school of Jalalabad.

He has served as a teacher in Baghlan and Paghman. Then in 1978 he

became director secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1979 he was assigned as the Administrative President of the Ministry of Interior affairs.

His first book was pub-

lished in 1989. It contains eleven short stories under the title of De Nimo Sh-poo Chighe", i.e. "The screams of midnights". He is writing in Pushto and Dari languages. He can speak English and French too.

He served in different departments of the Academy, and taught subjects in law. Since 1985 he has been working as a journalist and the chief of the cultural department of Payam daily.

He has been writing poems since 1971, and to date his five collections have been published. Their names are "Dallej, gift", "Spera Dagoona-Aw Ghwardely Dazghile, Non-fertilized plains and blossomed mattresses".

"Hagha Shebe Hagha kuloon, Those moments and those years."
"Saaki Saaki; Drops", Drops.

Khare Pa Maist ke; Male-dictions in the village". He is a Pushto poet. His poetry is presented as an example of style is presented here under:

A Horse

Yonder, over there a white horse is standing
As the flower dew
As the swar plume
As the glittering of the white dens of the beauty lover.

Like the shadow of the wrist of the beautiful ladies in the water.

Yonder, over there a white horse is standing
As the stars tear
As the white lovely moon of the whole world,
I follow him, call him but he is fleeing me
And hate me
Just as you are kissing
running and fleeing me
There is a horse standing
There is a horse standing
As the flower dew
As the swar plume.
By: Rabllyay

6/21

Poetry stems from life of the poet: Laila

The gifted and accomplished contemporary poetess, Laila Sarahat Roshtani had recently sponsored, a poetical function for declaration of her poems in the Club of Writers Association the function attended by a number of letters and poetry fans. The function began with the poetess presenting a number of her pieces composed in various poetical forms. Afterwards, a free discussion was held on different aspects of her poems.

"The poems of Laila are characterized by a definite tendency which has won the recognition of her colleagues. Her poems reflect her spirit and personality. Laila has a peculiar understanding of its love: mocking it in its today's form and sense. She is a sincere poetess whose poetry has another visage in the climate of literature. She is well

cognizant of the psychological and social peculiarities of her environment. There is a unique influence and attraction in her inner and poetical sincerity," said Suraya Wahedi, a distinguished young poetess.

The versatile poet, Haidar Wajudi, remarked: "Poetry depends on the state of being and knowledge of the audience. It is hard to know Laila in the mirror of poetry. She feels human pains and there are fresh interpretations in her pieces. With the language of sincerity, she narrates the pains of the public, something which can be taken as her success and as a factor for her amiability."

A Pashtu poet, Mahak,

believes that Laila Sarahat uses too simple terms and phrases and that there is less repetition of symbols in her pieces.

On the opinions of other poets Laila Sarahat commented: "The esteemed poets noted that there are much of depression and disappointment in my poems. Poetry stems from the life of the poet. My two pieces 'In the Depth of Night' and 'In the Depth of Mania' have been written on the basis of the impression I have gathered from my surroundings. I mean the touching life my people are currently living. See. It is too painful and intolerable for a poet to be witness to an incident when innocent citizens are being chopped into pieces by a cro-

el rocket. It is too sad to see poor citizens slaked in blood, those citizens who have come out to take a loaf of bread to their starving families, to their kids. Of course, this inspires one to write a poem more and more painful. Possibly, a poet may be engaged in his own inner affairs; I have been concerned with nothing but my own inner pains in linkage with the society."

Summing up, the recognized contemporary poet, Wasif Bakhtari noted: "Laila is too a creative poetess. She can compose poems in the old sketches of Dari poetry. She is extremely cautious about the rhythm. Noteworthy are her mathematics. If there is any depression and disappointment in her poems, it is sincere in deed."

(Nafise Khushnood)

KT 6/16



Laila Sarahat

DARULAMAN

This significantly impressive palace situated some 8 Kilometers to the North West of Kabul city was built during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan after the year 1919 A.D. The majestic idea cherished by King Amanullah beheld the venture of building such an imposing palace was to launch a project of establishing a new metropolitan center for Afghanistan adjacent to the old city of Kabul. His Majesty King Amanullah was a great political and national figure in Afghanistan and was blessed with progressive ideas for the nation. The pride of achievement of political independence for Afghanistan owes its realization to His Majesty the late King Amanullah Khan.

The planned layout of Darulaman Palace was designed by a French Engineer. Over one hundred acres of land was allotted for the building site of this grand palace. The corner stone and foundation of this palace was laid in the year 1906 H.S. (1927 A.D.). Its construction work started on a site 5,400 sq.m. the architectural works for which was being supervised by

Engineer Hertel. Even though the building work remained unfinished but the construction work of monuments, sidewalks, pavements and annexed buildings being essential for the style of such a magnificent palace were completed as it was designed.

The palace of Darulaman, its park and surroundings which were envisaged to be the centre of a new metropolitan city of Kabul was linked by a broadway and a narrow gauge tramway line both of which stretched straight forward and without any corner curvature over an 8 Kilometers high way that at Kabul the old city of Kabul to the expected site of the new metropolitan center.

Had the building up of the new metropolitan center been completed and the center commissioned that it would have been represented a very geometrical design of layout and beautifully attractive scene.

To carry out the plan of building up, such a metropolitan center some seven departments were established so as to have been in charge of supplying la-

Sanitary problems to be fully removed in Kabul

KABUL, JUNE 19. (BIA)

To improve sanitary conditions in the Kabul City a session presided over by Sarwar Mangal, Deputy Prime Minister was held yesterday.

Attended also by ministers of Information and

Culture, Finance, Mines and Industries and Light Industries and Foodstuffs, Rehabilitation and Rural Development and the Kabul Mayor and some departmental heads, the session adopted constructive measures for improving the sanitary conditions in Kabul.

It was pointed out that at the sanitary and greenery of Kabul city has remained as an unsolved problem for years due to certain technical and financial difficulties, and as a result of unbalanced and unplanned development of housing in the city and density of population under the conditions that the city lacked proper canalization system and modern water supply schemes, the city faced enormous environmental problems.

The session decided that taking into consideration the above factors and in an effort to prevent garbage dumpages in the city sincere co-operation of the related ministries, state institutions and organs should be sought and prompted measures be adopted to this end.

Also, the session adopted a preparatory plan

instructing the related ministries and state institutions to collect garbage from the city. The related state organs were also instructed to adopt strict measures to prevent garbage dumps inside or adjacent to the premises of these organs and prevent unnecessary digging of city roads or places within their premises without permission of the Kabul Municipality.

The Kabul Municipality was instructed to prepare a constructive practical plan for its precincts and launch crash works for cleaning the related areas, and maintain co-operation with the related ministries and state organs for this end.

As far as the overtime payments for the sanitary personnel of the Kabul Municipality is concerned, the Kabul Municipality can forward a proposal to the Council of Ministers in this respect.

The Kabul Municipality was assigned to control implementation of resolutions of this session and report to the Council of Ministers on its realization at the end of the month of Saratan 1306 H.S.

KT 6/19

Fahim Sadozai Talented Dramatist

Theatre occupies a significant place and is considered as a most important artistic centre in every society. Since the establishment of theatre in the world, interesting pieces of playwrights and outstanding theorists in various countries of the world have been put on display, attracting thousands of people in the society. As the most instructive and informative school, the role of theatre can not be renounced in changing the social attitude of people.

ic play, entitled "Peshe-Panj Ham Panj-Peshe-Sahibe-Panj Ham Panj. i.e., be polite in my presence and don't try to deceive me".

Fahim Sadozai was a student in Estiglal Lycee, when the French teachers left Kabul for France, he took the responsibility of the school's theatre and was able to form a 24 members theatre group. He led the group for a period of three years. During this time he could stage the play of the comedy of "Rouze Paiwand", i.e., "day of connection", Tameh Sorwat, i.e., covetous for wealth", Hoqaban-e-Buland and Parwarz, "high flying eagles" and, "Ham Seekh Sokht Ham Kabab, i.e., the Barbecue skewer Burpt and so did the barbecue. Some of these plays were written and presented on stage by himself.

At the outset of the year 1980, he had a performance of some plays such as the comedy of plastic ball, bloody spear and small pantomime plays.

Fahim Sadozai says on his works:

I have recently dramatised a criminal play, written by Alfred Hoechack, entitled "discretion is the prime condition", which will soon be played on the stage along with the plays of other artists of our country Rashid Baba. I am, at present, working to prepare an interesting play, entitled, "crypt of secret" to represent on the stage. This play which has been lately written will be played in collaboration with the union of artists and the competent actors of the central theatre and the youth's theatre.

But my most interesting work will be a complete play, written by a renowned Czech pantomimist, which I will represent it along with a student of the acting course.

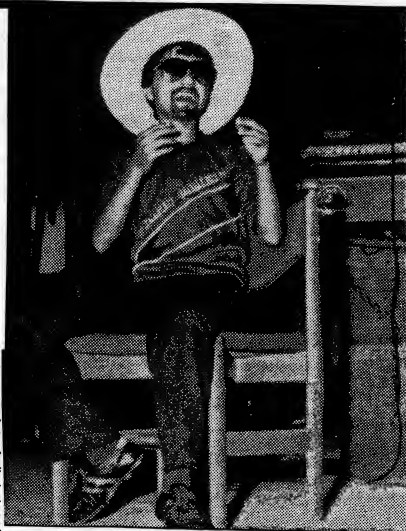
The programme of youth theater is going on unceasingly and despite technical problem, shortage of implements, lack of proper place our talented youth are still carrying on theatrical works.

Fahim Sadozai is determined to work as a teacher in theatre department of the faculty of literature at Kabul University. At present, he is teaching an acting course, conducted by the Artistes Association, in which 60 students are attending. Similarly, he has been undertaking to run the programme for three years and wants to extend it in future with regard to the existing possibility.

Sadozai further says on the work condition of the theatre in the country:

We, regrettably, have not developed basically the art of theatre, mainly for the reason that we have not capable and qualified playwrights in order to create attractive and interesting dramatic pieces to be displayed on stage for the interest of people. Theatre has been able to bring about great political and social changes. It is a pity if our country is not able to accomplish its mission in this regard. It is worth to be mentioned that today's world is mainly based on realism, therefore, ed-necessitates to develop the realistic aspect of the work in our theatrical activity.

A good director should know the primary component of the work well, like a good chemist. He



Fahim Sadozai

should thoroughly make himself familiar with the theatrical work and all its features and derive

desirable conclusion from whatever is put on trial. He ought to identify the social situation in his country and to understand well his living environs and accordingly develop popular art in favour of his society.

KT

4/10

(By: Baharat)

In our country, despite the fact that a few years have elapsed since the setting-up of theatre, it has, for some times, faced to downfall and stagnation during the recent years. While, once, it is glittering, now, with the emergence of qualified and skillful artists enjoying the virtue of knowledge at high academic level. Mr. Fahim Sadozai is one of the talented young men who is very much interested in theatre. He completed his higher education in the field of drama and Cinematography in the Academy of Theatre in Prague; he stood at first class and got a red diploma. He is extremely interested in his acquired field and tremendously enjoys his career.

An interview was conducted with him. He talked sincerely and distinctly in response to my questions. Fahim Sadozai says: The lust for theatre began to develop in my heart from childhood.

My family's environs and personal enthusiasm towards theatre persuaded me in this direction more than any other field. I made my first debut on the stage, in the year 1978, in the play "Ghasab" i.e., "anger". Then I wrote my first play entitled, "Qarzar", i.e., "Indebtor", in the year 1979. For the first time I stepped on the stage as an inexperienced and fresh actor, and subsequently, in the same year I presented my second com-

Constitution of the RA amended by Loya Jirgah of 28-29 May 1990

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful!

The pridelife history of our beloved homeland, Afghanistan is enriched, with the heroic struggle of our brave people for independence, national sovereignty, national unity, democracy and social progress.

At the present stage the State of the Republic of Afghanistan is actively carrying on the policy of national reconciliation, relying upon the support of national, political and patriotic forces.

Therefore, keeping in mind the historic changes that have taken shape in our homeland and in the contemporary world, adhering to the principles of the sacred religion of Islam, abiding by the accepted Afghan traditions and rituals, relying upon the realities of the country's history and culture, respecting the valuable heritages of the Constitutionalist Movement and in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and for the purpose of:

- Preserving the independence, defending the territorial integrity and strengthening the national sovereignty;

- Achieving country-wide peace and deepening national unity;

- Securing justice and democracy;

- Socio-Economic reconstruction and balanced growth and enhancing the people's living standard;

- Promoting the role and prestige of the country in the international arena;

- Creating favourable conditions for determining the legal status of permanent neutrality of Afghanistan and its demilitarization;

We, the representatives of the people of Afghanistan to the Loya Jirgah of Twenty Eighth and Twenty Ninth of May, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety amended as follows the constitution ratified by the Loya Jirgah of November, Thirty, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-seven which comprised Thirteen chapters and One Hundred and Forty Nine articles.

CHAPTER ONE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Article One:

The Republic of Afghanistan is an independent, unitary indivisible and Islamic state, having sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

National Sovereignty in the Republic of Afghanistan belongs to the people. The people exercise national sovereignty through the Loya Jirgah and National Assembly.

Article two:

The sacred religion of Islam is the religion of Afghanistan. In the Republic of Afghanistan no law shall run counter to the principles of the sacred religion of Islam and other values enshrined in this Constitution.

Article three:

The Republic of Afghanistan is a nonaligned country which does not join any military bloc and does not allow establishment of foreign military bases on its territory.

Article four:

The defence of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity is the fundamental duty of the state. The state ensures the security and defence capability of the country and equips the armed forces.

Article Five:

Political pluralism is the basis of the political system of the Republic of Afghanistan.

In the Republic of Afghanistan, political parties are allowed to be formed, provided their Platform, Charter and activities are not opposed to the provisions of this Constitution and the laws of the country.

The organisation and financial resources of a political party cannot be covert.

A party formed in accordance with the provisions of the law cannot be dissolved without a legal cause.

Judges and Attorneys cannot be members of a political party during the terms of their office.

Article Six:

This article is abolished.

Article Seven:

The formation of social organisations is allowed in the Republic of Afghanistan in accordance with the law.

Article eight:

Pashtu and Dari are official languages among the national languages of the country.

Article Nine:

The state emblem of the Republic of Afghanistan consists of a rising sun, Aduym, and Pulpit with a green background, encircled in two sheaves of wheat and a tricolour ribbon in black, red and green.

Article ten:

The state flag of the Republic of Afghanistan is a tricolour divided into three horizontal equal parts in black, red and green stripes. The emblem shall be placed on both sides of the upper quarter of the flag, close to the mast. The length of the flag shall be double its width.

Article eleven:

The capital of the Republic of Afghanistan is Kabul.

CHAPTER TWO FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Article Twelve:

This article is abolished.

Article thirteen:

The Republic of Afghanistan is a multi-national country. The state shall follow the policy of allround growth, understanding, friendship and cooperation between all nationalities, clans and tribes of the country for ensuring political, economic, social and cultural equality and rapid growth and development of regions which are socially, economically and culturally backward. The state shall gradually prepare the grounds for the creation of administrative units based on national characteristics.

Article fourteen:

The state shall adopt necessary measures for the growth of culture, language and literature of the people of Afghanistan as well as preserve and develop the worthy cultural, traditional, linguistic, literary and folkloric legacy of all nationalities, clans and tribes.

Article fifteen:

In the Republic of Afghanistan family constitutes the basic unit of the society.

The state shall adopt necessary measures for ensuring the health of mother and child and for the upbringing of children.

Article sixteen:

The state takes permanent care of the young generation and provides necessary opportunities for their education, employment, recreation, rest, spiritual and physical growth and shall help the blossoming of the talents of the youth.

Article seventeen:

The state shall promote construction to provide

state and cooperative housing and help in the construction of private houses.

Article eighteen:

The state shall implement the economic policy aimed at mobilization and utilization of the country's resources for removing backwardness, raising the living standards of the people and development of socio-economic structure of the society. Towards this end, the state shall formulate and put into practice socio-economic development plans.

Article nineteen:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, State, mixed, cooperative, trust, private and personal property, as well as properties of political and social organisations exist. Property is safe of any intrusion. The State protects all forms of legal properties.

Article Twenty:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, mineral resources, forests, pastures, mines, basic energy resources, historic relics, radio-television and communications' facilities, major dams, ports and transport ways, shall be of state properties.

Private investment is allowed, in accordance with the law, for making use of forests, pastures, energy resources, mines, and purchase and sale of means of communications.

In the Republic of Afghanistan, besides the State-run banks, insurance institutions and air transport, the formation of stock banks, and mixed insurance institutions and air transport and private and land transport are allowed in accordance with the law.

In the Republic of Afghanistan, the functioning of the agencies of foreign banks and insurance institutions are allowed in accordance with the law.

Article twentyone:

The state shall assist strengthening and expansion of cooperatives and shall encourage the voluntary participation of the people to this end.

Article twentytwo:

The state encourages and protects the activity of individual craftsmen and their voluntary participation in trade unions and cooperatives and renders all-round assistance for upgrading their professional skill, ensuring the supply of raw materials to them and sale of their output.

Article twenty-three:

With a view to reviving and developing agriculture, the State gives supplementary agricultural aid to the peasants and land-holders and renders effective assistance for the creation of mixed and private agricultural mechanized farms and reclamation of virgin lands.

Article twentyfour:

The state guarantees by law the use of pastures by nomads and livestock breeders. The state shall assist in the creation of proper conditions for the growth of animal husbandry, sale of livestock products and improvement of economic, social and living standards of nomads and livestock breeders.

Article twentyfive:

The state shall guarantee the security of private investment for the growth of national economy and protect and encourage the participation of national capital holders in the development of industry, commerce, construction, transport, agriculture and service in accordance with the law.

The state shall expand all-round and beneficial relations with private entrepreneurs and protect the private sector against the competition of foreign capital. The state shall take into account the interests of private sector, in accordance with law, while working out the financial, credit, customs and price policies.

Article twenty-Six:

This article is abolished.

Article Twenty-Seven:

For the growth of national economy, the State encourages foreign investment in the Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the law.

Article twentyeight:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, no foreign citizen shall enjoy the right to own immovable property. Subject to the approval of the government, imm-

ovable property may be sold to diplomatic missions and foreign governments on a reciprocal basis and also to international organisations in which the Republic of Afghanistan is a member.

Article twenty-nine:

The hereditary right to property shall be guaranteed by law on the basis of Islamic Shariat.

Article thirty:

Expropriation is allowed only in public interest and against just and prior compensation in accordance with the law.

Confiscation of property is not allowed without the sanction of the law and the decision of a court.

Article thirty-one:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, the criteria, rates and types of taxes and duties shall be determined on the basis of law and social justice.

Article thirty-two:

The state shall adopt and implement necessary measures for the protection of nature, natural wealth and reasonable utilisation of natural resources, improvement of living environment, prevention of pollution of water and air, and conservation and survival of animals and plants.

CHAPTER THREE

CITIZENSHIP, BASIC RIGHTS, FREEDOMS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article thirty-three:

The citizenship of the Republic of Afghanistan is equal and uniform to all citizens. Acquisition and loss of citizenship and other matters related to it are regulated by law. Every individual having citizenship of the Republic of Afghanistan in accordance with the law, shall be called an Afghan.

Article thirty-four:

No citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be exiled inside or outside the country.

Article thirty-five:

No citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be extradited to a foreign state.

Article thirty-six:

The citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan living abroad enjoy the protection of the state. The state shall defend their rights and legal interests, strengthen the relations of Afghans living abroad with the country, and help their return to the homeland.

Article thirty-seven:

The Republic of Afghanistan guarantees, according to the law, the rights and freedoms of foreign citizens and individuals residing in Afghanistan without citizenship. They are bound to obey the Constitution and other laws of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Article thirty-eight:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan, both men and women, have equal rights and duties in the eyes of the law, irrespective of their national, racial, linguistic, tribal, educational and social status, religion, creed, political conviction, occupation, kinship, wealth, and residence.

Designation of any illegal privilege or discrimination against rights and duties of citizens are forbidden.

Article thirty-nine:

Right to life is the natural right of every human being. No person shall be deprived of this right unless by law.

Article forty:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, the freedom to perform religious rites is guaranteed to all Muslims. Followers of other religions are free to perform their religious rites. No individual has the right to abuse religion for anti-national and anti-people propaganda purposes, creation of enmity and commission of other deeds contrary to the interests of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Article forty-one:

Liberty is the natural right of every human being. This right is unlimited, except in so far as it harms the freedom of others and public interests as defined by law.

Liberty and human dignity are inviolable and the state respects and protects them. Innocence is the original state and the accused is presumed innocent unless found guilty by a final verdict of a court of law.

No act is considered a crime, except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be arrested and accused of committing a crime unless in accordance with the provisions of the law.

No person can be detained, except with the permission of the court and in accordance with law.

No person can be punished unless by a verdict of a court in accordance with provisions of law and in proportion to the crime committed.

Crime is a personal deed; no other person shall be punished for its commission.

The accused has the right to defend himself personally or through an advocate.

Article forty-two:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, punishment incompatible with human dignity, torture and execution are prohibited. Obtaining confession, testimony or statement from an accused or any other person by compulsion or threat is prohibited. Statements or testimony taken from an accused or other person by means of compulsion shall not be valid.

A public servant who tortures an accused or any other person for obtaining statements, testimony or confession, or who issues orders for torture, shall be punished in accordance with the law. Acting on the orders of superiors in the commission of unlawful deeds cannot be the ground for the plea of innocence.

Article forty-three:

Indebtedness cannot be the cause of deprivation of a person's liberty.

The ways and means of recovering debts shall be regulated by the law.

Article forty-four:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, the inviolability of residence is guaranteed. No person, including a state representative, can enter or search a residence without the permission of the resident and except in circumstances and under procedures prescribed by the law.

Article forty-five:

In the Republic of Afghanistan, confidentiality of correspondence and telephonic and telegraphic communications is guaranteed.

No one, including a state representative, shall intercept telephonic and telegraphic communications and control correspondence except under the provisions of the law.

Article forty-six:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan who suffer in the performance of their duties unlawful damage by state organs, social organisations and responsible officials are entitled to compensation, conditions and procedures of which shall be regulated by law.

Article forty-seven:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan are entitled to take part in socio-political life and the administration of the state, directly or through their representatives.

Article forty-eight:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to elect or be elected. Conditions and procedures of exercising this right shall be regulated by law.

Article forty-nine:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right of freedom of thought and expression.

Citizens can exercise this right openly, in speech and in writing, in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Pre-censorship of the press is not allowed.

Article fifty:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to assembly, peaceful demonstration and strike, in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article fifty-one:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan enjoy

the right to petition, criticise and make suggestions, either individually or collectively.

State organs, social organisations and responsible officials are bound to consider the petitions, criticisms and proposals and take necessary actions in regard to them within the time prescribed by law. Surveillance for criticism is forbidden.

Article fifty-two:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to work and are entitled to equal pay for equal work. The state, through enactment and application of just and progressive labour laws, shall provide necessary conditions for the citizens to enjoy this right.

Article fifty-three:

Imposition of forced labour is forbidden. Performance of compulsory labour in war time, natural calamity and other states of emergency which threaten public life and order shall be excluded from this.

Article fifty-four:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan, subject to the needs of the society and on the basis of specialisation, have the right to hold state posts and choose their occupation.

Article fifty-five:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to rest.

The state defines the working hours and the periodic holidays with pay and the specifications of work during holidays, festivals, Ids and shall provide conditions for rest, growth of cultural, artistic establishments, physical training, sports and healthy recreation.

Article fifty-six:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to free education.

The State shall adopt necessary measures for the eradication of illiteracy, generalization of balanced education, education in mother tongue, ensuring compulsory primary education, gradual expansion of general, technical, professional and vocational education and growth of the system of higher education for training national cadres.

In the Republic of Afghanistan the formation of educational and higher education institutions by private sector and foreign persons is allowed in accordance with the law.

Article fifty-seven:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to health and social security.

The state shall adopt necessary measures for expansion of all-round, balanced and countryside medical services, expansion of hospitals, health centres, training of doctors and personnel for medical services, universal prevention of diseases, expansion of free health services, arrangement and encouragement of private medical services, improvement of material welfare of the aged, war and work disabled and dependents of martyrs.

Article fifty-eight:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to scientific, technical and artistic activities.

The state ensures systematic progress of science and training of scientific cadres, protects the rights of authors and inventors, encourages and protects scientific research in all spheres and generalizes the effective use of the results of scientific research.

Article fifty-nine:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan have the right to travel and free choice of settlement and residence in the country.

The state is authorized to ban temporarily travel, settlement and residence in particular areas of the country for the purposes of maintaining security and public order, prevention of epidemic diseases and protection of the rights and liberties of individuals.

Article sixty:

Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan enjoy according to law the right to travel abroad and return home.

THE FORUM TALKS TO

NOOR AHMAD NOOR, Permanent Representative of the ROA to the UN, who had recently returned from Kabul where he attended a congress of the PDPA, now the Watan (Homeland) Party. He enthusiastically listed the virtues of the "new" organization: Islamic principles, a free market economy, the leader called a "president" - no more "secretaries."

He feels that in the present situation, his Party has gone as far as it can in making compromises to further a peaceful solution to Afghanistan's problems. The Party now can only hope for a US-Soviet agreement because, he believes, until this happens no further progress can be made.

Since the Ambassador has been a believer since before the PDPA held its founding congress (see bio data at the end), we asked him if, with the advantage of hindsight, he'd have liked things to have gone differently. This produced a puzzled look so we stressed the "if."

He began by saying that the early PDPA program was not based on the realities of the country, which was more backward than the Party realized. And, he added, some of the changes they wanted were more in the minds of the Party leaders than in all of the membership, some 13,000 in 1978.

He reminded us that early on the Party had supported Daoud, hoping for changes by legal means, while others - no names mentioned - were not so sanguine. However, when Daoud began doing things that alarmed the Party, word went out to the military members that if there were any attempts made to arrest Party

leaders, the military should make a move. They were & it did. But, this gave the military the upper hand & it tried to impose Party ideology by military means. Take land reform. There were a few peasants in the Party & they didn't want land reform. None of the Afghan peasants wanted land reform & it was a mistake to try to impose it on people who didn't want it.

Now the hope is not to keep making mistakes but to try to learn from history. At this point, Afghans have the means to develop the country by evolutionary means, not revolutionary ones. [We did not discuss the role of the military in "evolution."]



The PDPA/Watan Party, which he said now has 170,000 members, has a program for evolutionary development; other parties don't. To neglect today's gov't in Afghanistan, which does have all those non-Party members, would be unrealistic. How can a non-aligned person or party mobilize enough people without the current gov't? The present gov't respects the opposition & invites it to participate in a dialogue. Without the USSR there is no reason not to have a dialogue to establish a broad-based gov't.

We allowed as how we'd heard that the Soviets weren't completely gone. There are no longer any Soviet advisors in Afghanistan, only "arms specialists" to train Afghans to use the weapons the Soviets have given them. [The number of "specialists" was not given.] He did express concern over the "huge amounts" of armaments in the country which he said were not only a danger to Afghans, but a threat to her neighbors.

Continued on p. 6

Article sixteen:
Every citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan is bound to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Immorance of provisions of law is no excuse.
Article sixteen:
Citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan and foreigners are bound to pay taxes and duties to the state in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article sixteen:
The defence of homeland, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country is the proud duty of the citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan. Conditions of service in the armed forces shall be regulated by law.

Article sixteen:
The state shall provide necessary conditions for the citizens to exercise their fundamental rights and liberties and discharge their duties.
No person has the right to exercise the rights and liberties enshrined in the law against public interest and to the detriment of the rights and liberties of other citizens.

CHAPTER FOUR LOYA JIRGAH

Article sixteen:
The Loya Jirga is the highest manifestation of the will of the people of Afghanistan in accordance with national historical traditions.

Article Sixty-Six:
The Loya Jirga is composed of:
1— The President and Vice-Presidents;
2— Members of the National Assembly;
3— Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers and members of the Council of Ministers;
4— Chief Justice and Deputy Chief Justices;
5— Attorney General;
6— Chairmen of the Constitution Council;
7— Chairmen of the councils of provinces.
8— From each province, equivalent to the number of their deputies to the Wolesi Jirga (House of Representatives), elected by the people through universal equal, free, secret and direct ballot;
9— A maximum of fifty persons from among the political, scientific, cultural, social and religious figures to be appointed by the President.

Article sixteen:
The Loya Jirga enjoys the following powers.
1. To approve and amend the Constitution.
2. To elect the President and to accept the President's resignation.
3. To consent to the declaration of war and armistice.
4. To adopt decisions on the most important questions regarding the destiny of the country.

Article sixteen:
Save in cases otherwise defined in this Constitution, the Loya Jirga shall be summoned and opened by the President and its sessions shall be held under the chairmanship of the President or any other person appointed by the President as his agent.

The quorum for the Loya Jirga shall be two thirds of its members present.

Save in cases otherwise defined in this constitution, the decisions of the Loya Jirga shall be adopted by a majority vote of its members.

Article sixteen:
During the time when the House of Representatives remains dissolved, its members shall retain their membership of the Loya Jirga till a new house is elected.

Article sixteen:
Elections to Loya Jirga shall be regulated by law and its procedure laid down by the Loya Jirga itself.

CHAPTER FIVE THE PRESIDENT

Article seventeen:

The President is the head of the state and shall exercise his powers in legislative, executive and judicial spheres in accordance with the provisions

of this Constitution and laws of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Article seventeen:

The President shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Loya Jirga for a term of seven years. No person can be elected as President for more than two terms. The President is accountable and shall report to Loya Jirga. The Loya Jirga shall be called to elect a new President thirty days before the end of the term of office of the outgoing President.

Article seventeen:

Any Muslim citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan who has completed the age of forty and who and whose wife are born of Afghan parents and enjoys civil and political rights can be elected President.

Article seventeen:

The President, after being elected, shall take the following oath:
"I swear in the name of Allah, the Almighty, to protect the principles of sacred religion of Islam, observe the constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan and supervise its implementation, safeguard the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, preserve the basic rights and freedoms of the citizens and exert all my efforts to ensure social justice, people's prosperity, strengthening of peace and progress of the country."

Article Seventy-Five:

The President shall enjoy the following powers in addition to those entrusted to him by other provisions of this Constitution:

- 1— Supreme Command of the Armed Forces.
- 2— To sign laws and resolutions of the National Assembly.
- 3— To nominate the Prime Minister. Designate to form the government.
- 4— To approve the appointment of Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers and Ministers after they receive the vote of confidence from the National Assembly, and to accept their resignation.
- 5— To convene and chair the sessions of the Council of Ministers, when necessary;
- 6— To delegate the power of judgement and to endorse the appointment, promotion and retirement of high-ranking judges, officials and officers in accordance with the law;
- 7— To take decisions on ascertaining public opinion or holding referendum on major, political, social and economic issues;
- 8— To pardon and remit sentences;
- 9— To accredit heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Afghanistan to other countries and to international organizations;
- 10— To accept the credentials of the heads of diplomatic missions of other countries to the Republic of Afghanistan;
- 11— To proclaim a state of Emergency, general and partial mobilization and their termination;
- 12— To declare war and armistice in consonance with the Loya Jirga;
- 13— To authorize the issuance of money and monetary reform, in accordance with the law;
- 14— To grant citizenship and asylum in accordance with the law;
- 15— To grant honorary orders, medals and titles in accordance with the law;
- 16— To approve the national anthem of the Republic of Afghanistan;
- 17— To cancel the laws and other legislative instruments whose unconformity with the Constitution is determined by the Constitutional Council;
- 18— To create the Presidential Administrative apparatus;
- 19— To exercise other powers in accordance with the law.

The President is authorized to delegate some of his legal powers to the Vice-Presidents.

Article seventeen:

The President shall continue in office until the end of his term except in the cases of permanent and incurable illness and resignation. In such cases, when the President is unable to discharge his

duties, the presidential functions shall be entrusted to the first Vice-President.

In case of permanent loss of ability to work, death or resignation of the President, the first Vice-President shall invite the Loya Jirga within one month to elect a new President.

In the event of resignation, the President shall submit his resignation directly to the Loya Jirga.

CHAPTER SIX NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Article Seventy-Seven:

The National Assembly (parliament) is the highest legislative body of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Article seventy-eight:

The National Assembly consists of two houses: House of Representatives and Senate.

Article Seventy-Nine:

The people's deputies to the House of Representatives, shall be elected through general, equal, free, secret and direct voting for a legislative term of five years, in accordance with the law.

Members of the Senate (senators) are elected and appointed in the following manner:

1. Two persons from each province elected by the people for a period of five years.
2. Two persons from among the members of each Provincial Council for a term of three years.
3. The remaining one third of the members shall be appointed for a period of four years by the President from amongst the national, cultural, personalities, knowledgeable scholarly, prestigious and national figures.

Article eighty:

The number, conditions, procedure of election and appointment of the members of the National Assembly shall be regulated by law.

Article Eighty one:

In addition to other powers prescribed in this Constitution, the National Assembly shall enjoy the following powers:

1. To approve, amend and repeal laws and legislative decrees and to present them to the President for signature.
2. To interpret laws.
3. To ratify or to approve the annulment of bilateral treaties and to ratify accession to withdrawal from international treaties.
4. To approve socio-economic development plans and endorse the government's report on their execution.
5. To approve the state budget and evaluate the report on its execution.
6. To establish administrative units and to make changes there to.
7. To establish and abolish ministries.
8. To decide on the appointment and removal of Vice-Presidents on the basis of recommendation and request of the President.
9. To authorize the state to receive loans and grant privileges of substantial importance in national economy, including monopoly.
10. To institute by law, honorary orders, medals and titles.
11. To endorse the establishment of relations with other countries and international organisations.
12. To elicit replies from the Prime Minister and other members of the government concerning performances related to their authority during interpellations session.

Article eighty two:

The House of Representatives shall have the following exclusive powers:

1. To pass a vote of confidence or no-confidence in the Council of Ministers or one of its members.
2. To take final decision on the draft plans for economic and social development and the state budget in the event of disagreement between the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Article Eighty-Three:

Each house of the National Assembly shall appoint at its first session, a commission from among its members to authenticate the credentials. The commission shall report the results of its findings to the relative house.

Article eightyfour:

The House of Representatives elects at its first session from among its members an executive committee composed of a chairman, two deputy chairmen and two secretaries for the whole term of the legislature.

The Senate elects from among its members an executive committee composed of a chairman for a term of five years, two deputy chairmen and two secretaries for a term of one year. The chairman of each house of the National Assembly shall conduct and maintain order in the respective sessions of the houses. In the absence of the chairman, one of the deputy chairmen shall discharge his duties.

Article eightyfive:

The ordinary sessions of the National Assembly are held twice a year, in the first week of the month of Sunbula and the first week of the month of Hoot. Each regular session of the National Assembly shall not extend to more than three months. If the National Assembly is discussing the annual budget or the development plan, its session shall not be wound up before their endorsement. If the budget is not endorsed before the beginning of the fiscal year, the budget of previous year shall apply till the endorsement of the new annual budget.

An extraordinary session of the National Assembly can be held on the decision of the President, request of chairman of either house or of one fifth of members of each house.

The houses of the National Assembly shall hold separate or joint sessions. The joint sessions of the National Assembly are chaired alternately by their chairmen.

The President inaugurates and concludes the session of the National Assembly. The first session of National Assembly shall be summoned by the President, thirty days after the conclusion of the elections to the House of Representatives.

Article eightyseven: The quorum for both houses of the National Assembly shall be completed when two third of the members of each house are present. The decision of each house is passed by a majority vote of its total membership.

Article eightyeight:

The separate and joint sessions of the houses of National Assembly shall be opened, unless the houses decide to meet in closed sessions. The proceedings of the debates of both the houses shall be recorded.

Article Eightynine:

Each house of the National Assembly shall elect from among its members standing commissions for the preliminary consideration and arrangement of the issues within its competence.

Article ninety:

Each house of the National Assembly is empowered to constitute investigation, auditing and other temporary commissions as may be required. The auditing and procedures of the investigation and auditing commissions shall be regulated by the respective houses of the National Assembly.

Article ninetyone:

Members of the House of Representatives have the right to put question to the Prime Minister or any member of the government in the interpellation session. Answers to the questions shall be presented in writing or orally.

The House of Representatives can consider on the basis of the answers presented the motion of vote of confidence in the government. A government which fails to receive the vote of confidence shall continue in office till a new government is formed.

Article Ninety Two:

Members of the Council of Ministers after obtaining the permission of the chairman of the session, can attend the meetings of the National Assembly having consultative vote.

Article ninetythree:

Members of the National Assembly have the right to vote and express their views in separate and joint sessions. No member of the National Assembly shall be subjected to legal prosecution for a vote or views expressed inside or outside the National Assembly.

Save in cases of prima facie evidence of crimes, no member of the National Assembly can be arrested, detained or subjected to judicial surveillance without the consent of the House concerned or without the consent of its executive committee during the interval between two sessions of the National Assembly. If a member of the National Assembly is arrested on a prima facie case, the executive committee of the house concerned shall be informed.

Article Ninetyfour:

The following authorities have the right to propose introduction, amendment and repeal of law in each house of the National Assembly:

1. The President.
2. The Standing Commission of the National Assembly.
3. At least one tenth of membership of each house.
4. The Council of Ministers.
5. The Supreme Court.
6. The Attorney General.

In case, the introduction, amendment and the abolition of law cause increase of state's expenditures and decrease its incomes, the earlier agreement of the government shall be sought in this respect.

Article Ninety-Five:

Expectations defined otherwise in this Constitution, the decision of one of the houses related to powers described under Article Eighty One shall be delivered to the other house. If the decisions of one house is rejected by the other, a joint committee of equal number of members of either house shall be set up.

The decision of the joint committee which has been adopted on the basis of two thirds of votes of the committee members shall enter into force after it is signed by the President.

If the joint committee fails to resolve differences, the matter shall be discussed in the joint session of the National Assembly and decision taken by a majority vote of the members of the joint session.

Article Ninety Six:

Decisions of the National Assembly are enforced after their signature by the President. In case the President does not agree with the decisions of the National Assembly, he can return them to the National Assembly within 30 days from the date of receipt along with his reasons. After the elapse of this period, and also if the session of the National Assembly endorse the decision in its next sessions with two thirds votes of its members, the decision shall become effective and the President shall sign it.

Article Ninety Seven:

In consultations with the chairmen of the House of Representatives and the Senate, the Prime Minister, and the Chief Justice, the Chairman of the Constitution Council, the President can declare the dissolution of the House of Representatives or the National Assembly presenting reasons of justification.

Reelection shall be held within thirty days after the dissolution of the House of Representatives or the National Assembly.

The new House of Representatives or the National Assembly, 'cannot be dissolved one year after its election'.

The House of Representatives or the National Assembly cannot be dissolved during the last six months of office of the President.

Article ninetyeight:

The laws and resolutions of the National Assembly shall be published in Pashtu and Dari languages and can be published in the languages of other nationalities of the country as well.

Article Ninety Nine:

Procedures for functioning of the sessions of National Assembly and its standing commissions shall be regulated by the related session, in conformity with the provisions of the enforced laws.

CHAPTER SEVEN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Article One Hundred:

The Council of Ministers (government) is the highest executive body of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Council of Ministers is composed of:

- Prime Minister.
- Deputy Prime Ministers;
- Ministers.

Article one hundred and one:

The Prime Minister designate shall present to the first session of the House of Representatives the home and foreign policy line of the government and the composition of its government for seeking the vote of confidence of the House. After receiving the vote of confidence and approval of the President, the Prime Minister shall present the domestic and foreign policy line and introduce members of the government to the Senate.

Article one hundred and two:

The Council of Ministers is responsible to the House of Representatives and the President and shall submit reports to them.

Article One Hundred and Three:

The Council of Ministers shall have the following duties and powers:

1. To formulate and implement domestic and foreign policies.
2. To ensure the execution of matters related to the national economy; to formulate the socio-economic development plans, prepare the state budget, implement plans and budgets and report to the National Assembly on their execution.
3. To adopt measures for defending the interests of the public, to protect all forms of legal properties, to ensure public order and security and safeguard the rights and freedoms of the citizens.
4. To guide foreign relations, to establish diplomatic ties and to conclude agreements with other states and international organisations according to law.
5. To create offices and organs related to the Council of Ministers with the approval of the President.
6. To approve regulations and rules within its powers according to law.
7. To submit the Regulations, Rules and Resolutions of the Council of Ministers to the President.
8. To execute other powers according to law.

Article one hundred and four:

In the interval between sessions of the National Assembly and in the event of dissolution of the House of Representatives, the Council of Ministers may, if urgently required, issue legislative ordinances on matters within the powers of the National Assembly, excluding matters relating to budget and financial affairs. These legislative ordinances shall come into force after signature by the President.

The Council of Ministers shall submit to the first periodic session of the National Assembly for approval the legislative ordinances which are promulgated in accordance with the provisions of this Article. If the ordinances are rejected by the National Assembly, they become void from that date. In the interval between two sessions of the National Assembly or the period of dissolution of the House of Representatives, the President may, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, appoint or dismiss any member of the government. The matter shall then be submitted to the first session of the House of Representatives to decide upon.

Article One Hundred and Five:

The government is dissolved under the following conditions:

1. Resignation of Prime Minister.
2. Incurable and long-lasting sickness or death of Prime Minister.
3. Withdrawing the vote of confidence by the house of representatives of the government.
4. End of the legislative term of the House of Representatives.
5. Dissolution of the House of Representatives or National Assembly.

In all those conditions the dissolved government shall carry on its activities under one of those persons mentioned in the article 100 of the Constitution and who is appointed by the President.

Article one hundred and six:

The organization, composition, and activities of the Council of Ministers shall be regulated by law.

CHAPTER EIGHT JUDICIARY

Article One Hundred and Seven:
Judiciary is an independent component of the State.

Article One Hundred and Eight:
Judgment in the Republic of Afghanistan shall be rendered only by the courts in accordance with the law. The judiciary today is composed of the Supreme Court and other courts which are formed in accordance with the law.

Article one hundred and nine:
The Supreme Court, as the highest judicial organ heads the unified system of judiciary in the country and is composed of the chief justice, deputy chief justices and judges.

The Supreme Court shall, in accordance with the provisions of law, supervise the activities of the courts and ensure the uniform application of law by courts.

Article One Hundred and Ten:
The Chief Justice, Deputy Chief justices and judges of the Supreme Court shall be appointed in accordance with the law by the President.

The Chief Justice is accountable to the President and shall report to him.

Article one hundred and eleven:
The courts shall be independent in their judgement and shall submit only to the law. Trial and verdict by courts shall be based on the principle of equality of parties before the law and the court.

Article one hundred and twelve:
The judges shall apply the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan in the cases under their consideration. When no explicit provision exists in the law, the court shall, following the provisions of the Shariat of Islam, render a decision that secures justice in the best possible way.

Article one hundred and thirteen:
Trial in the courts of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be held openly. The conditions under which cases are to be conducted in closed trials shall be determined by law.

The verdict of the court shall be pronounced openly in all circumstances.

Article one hundred and fourteen:
The trial and judgement by the courts shall be conducted in Pashtu and Dari languages or in the language of the majority of the residents of the place. If a party to the case does not understand the language in which the trial is conducted, he has the right to become acquainted with the materials and documents of the case through an interpreter and the right to address the court in his mother tongue.

Article one hundred and fifteen:
The verdict by the court shall contain the statement of reasons and evidence.

The final verdict of the court is binding except in the case of a death sentence which is executed after the approval of the President.

Article one hundred and sixteen:
The organization, composition, powers and procedure of work of the courts shall be regulated by law.

Article One Hundred and Seventeen:
The Attorney Office of the Republic of Afghanistan is a unified system based on the principle of centralism and shall consist of the Office of the Attorney General and offices of other Attorneys which are set up in accordance with the law.

CHAPTER NINE ATTORNEY OFFICE

Article one hundred and eighteen:
The Attorney General shall lead the activities of the attorney offices of the country.

The attorney offices are independent in the performance of their duties and are subject only to the law and the Attorney General.

Article One Hundred and Nineteen:
The Attorney General and Deputy Attorney Generals are appointed by the President in accordance with the law.

The Attorney General is accountable to the President and shall report to him.

Article One Hundred and Twenty:
High supervision over the implementation and uniform observance of laws by the ministries, departments, state mixed and private institutions, cooperatives, political parties, social organisations, officials in charge and citizens shall be undertaken by the Attorney General and the Attorney subordinate to him.

Article one hundred and twenty one:
The organization, composition, powers and procedure of activity of the Attorney Office shall be regulated by law.

CHAPTER TEN CONSTITUTION COUNCIL

Article one hundred and twentytwo:
The Constitution Council of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be formed to ensure the conformity of laws, other legislative documents and international treaties with the Constitution.

Article One Hundred and Twenty Three:
The Constitution Council shall exercise the following powers:

1. Evaluate the conformity of laws, legislative decrees and international treaties with the Constitution.

2. Give legal advices to the President on Constitutional matters.

Article one hundred and twentyfour:
In order to exercise its powers the Constitution Council has the right to:

1. Scrutinize the legislative documents presented for the President's signature and express opinion on their conformity with the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan.

2. Submit concrete proposals to the President on measures required by the development of legislative affairs.

Article One Hundred and Twenty Five:
The Constitution Council shall be composed of a Chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and eight members who are appointed by the President.

Article one hundred and twenty six:
The Constitution Council is accountable to the President and shall report to him.

Article one hundred and twenty seven:
The organization and procedure of activity of the Constitution Council shall be regulated by law.

CHAPTER ELEVEN ADMINISTRATION

Article One Hundred and Twenty Eight:
The administration in the Republic of Afghanistan is based on units of the central and local administration which are regulated in accordance with the law.

The local administration in the Republic of Afghanistan consists of the administrative units of provinces, districts, cities and precincts.

The units are led by governors, district chiefs, mayors and heads of precincts. Provincial and district councils shall be set up, in accordance with the law, in every province and district. The provincial and district councils each shall elect one of their members as chairman and secretary.

The terms of office of the provincial and district councils is three years.

Article One Hundred and Twenty nine:
The Provincial and District Councils shall take part, in accordance with the law, in maintaining the developmental objectives of the State in the area and shall give recommendations to the Administration for the improvement and development of the affairs concerned. Members of the provincial and district councils shall be paid proper attendance fees.

Article One Hundred and Thirty:
To manage the affairs of cities and precincts, sessions of municipalities and precincts are held in accordance with the law.

Appropriate attendance fees shall be paid to the participants of the sessions of municipalities and precincts.

In connection with election of Representatives to the Loya Jirgah and Wolesi Jirgah, Kabul city and its precincts are equal to a province and Woles-walis, respectively.

Article One Hundred and Thirty One:
Affairs related to the central and local Administrations as well as job safety and constancy and other issues related to the employees shall be regulated by law.

CHAPTER TWELVE FOREIGN POLICY

Article one hundred and thirtytwo:
The foreign policy of the Republic of Afghanistan rests on ensuring the national interests, consolidation of independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity of the country, preservation of world peace and security, peaceful coexistence, equality of rights and all-round development of international cooperation.

Article one hundred and thirtythree:
The Republic of Afghanistan respects and observes the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article one hundred and thirtyfour:
The Republic of Afghanistan pursues the policy of non-alignment as a significant principle of the state's foreign policy and as one of the founders of the non-aligned movement strives for achieving its objectives.

Article one hundred and thirtyfive:
The Republic of Afghanistan is in favour of establishing and consolidation of friendly relations with all countries, particularly the neighbouring and Islamic ones, irrespective of their socio-political and economic systems, based on the principles of equality of rights, mutual respect of independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-resort to force or threat of use of force, denunciation of all forms of interference and aggression and sincere fulfilment of international commitments in accordance with the accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article One Hundred and Thirty Six:
The Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle of peoples and nations for peace, national independence, democracy, social progress and the right of nations to self-determination and fights against colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism, Apartheid and fascism.

Article one hundred and thirtyseven:
The Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle for total disarmament, cessation of arms race on earth and in space, non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, dismantling of aggressive military bases, relaxation of international tensions and establishment of new and just international economic and information order.

Article one hundred and thirtyeight:
War propaganda is forbidden in the Republic of Afghanistan.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Article one hundred and thirty nine:
The Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan has the highest legal credibility. Laws and other legislative documents shall be framed in conformity with it.

Article one hundred and forty:
The state and all its organs shall function on the basis of this Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan and ensure legal order, interests of the society, rights and legal interests of the citizens. State, cooperative, mixed and private institutions, political parties, social organisation, and officials in char-

ge and citizens are obliged to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Article one hundred and fortyone:

Amendments to the Constitution shall be made by the Loya Jirgah. Decision on introducing amendments to the Constitution shall be on the proposal of the President or proposal of one third and approval of two third of the members of the National Assembly.

In this case, the President convenes the Loya Jirgah. If the Loya Jirgah finds the proposal qualified, it shall introduce the amendments in the Constitution, otherwise, it shall reject the proposal.

Amendment of the Constitution in a state of emergency is not allowed.

Article One Hundred and Fortytwo:

Salaries of the President, Vice Presidents, members of the National Assembly, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, cabinet members, Chief Justice, Vice-President and members of the Supreme Court, Chairman and Secretary of the Constitution Council, Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General shall be fixed by law.

Article One Hundred and Forty three:

Whenever the preservation of the independence, national sovereignty territorial integrity and internal security becomes impossible through channels provided for in the Constitution due to war, danger of war, turmoil or the similar conditions, state of emergency may be proclaimed by the President in consultation with the chairman of the chambers of the National Assembly, Prime Minister, Chief Justice and Chairman of the Constitution Council.

If the state of emergency shall last more than three months, the consent of the Loya Jirgah is a condition for its extension.

Article one hundred and fortyfour:

The President shall have the following powers in a state of emergency.

1. Extension of the tenure of the National Assembly.
2. Delegation of powers of the National Assembly in part to the Council of Ministers.
3. Delegation of powers of courts in part to special courts and military courts.
4. Suspension and or limitation of Articles 30,44,45, 46,49,50 and the last item of article 51, articles 53 and 60 of the Constitution.
5. Exercise of other powers in accordance with the law.

Article one hundred and fortyfive:

International treaties previously entered into by the Republic of Afghanistan and conventions joined by it, if found repugnant to the provisions of the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan, shall have ascendancy.

Article One Hundred and Forty Six:

Investigation into the allegations levelled against the President, Vice Presidents, members of the administrative bodies of two houses of National Assembly, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers, members of the Council of Ministers, Chief Justice, Vice-Presidents and members of the Supreme Court, Attorney General and his deputies and the chairman of the Constitution Council, and procedures for their trial shall be regulated by a special law.

Article One Hundred and Forty Seven:

In the Republic of Afghanistan those who themselves or their wives or husbands are not from Afghan parents, cannot be appointed as Vice President, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister, Chief Justice, Attorney General, high-ranking Officer (in accordance with the law) and diplomatic civil servant.

Article one hundred and fortyeight:

On the enactment of this Constitution, the Fundamental Principles of the Republic of Afghanistan shall be abrogated.

The laws and other legislative documents adopted prior to the enactment of this Constitution shall remain valid, provided they are not repugnant to the provisions of this Constitution.

Article One Hundred and Forty Nine:

This constitution is enforced from the date of its endorsement by the Loya Jirgah and is proclaimed

med after the President's signature.

The amendment in this constitution is enforced from the date of its endorsement by the Loya Jirgah and is proclaimed after the president's signature.

KT 5/31

1st session of peace front founders held

KABUL, JULY 16 (BIA)

In the yesterday's session of the Founding members of the Peace Front of Afghanistan (PFA) held in Aryana Hotel with Abdul Hakim Tawana Chairman of the Peasants' National Alliance of Afghanistan (PNA) in the chair the draft of the internal relations of the session of the founding members of the PFA was readout by Habibullah Khan the representative of the Union of the Peace and Progress Strugglers of Afghanistan (UPPSA).

Then, the organisational structure of the PFA was readout by Noor Akbar Paryesh and the session unanimously endorsed the organising committees of the press maintaining relations with the personalities and armed commanders and drafting a programme of action and a charter with a total composition of 120 persons.

Afterwards the list of the organising body of the PFA was readout by Abdul Qadeer Kamel member of the leading body of the Islamic Party of the People of Afghanistan (IPPA). After debating the issue, 35 persons were elected as members of the organising body of the PFA.

The composition of the members of the secretariate and the committees of the session of the Founding Members of the PFA were assigned and proposed to the first session of the organising body of the PFA. Finally Candidate Academician Mohammad Ibrahim Attia was elected as Chairman and Abdul Hakim Tawana and Sheikh Ali Ahmad Fakoor Chairman of the Coordination center of Hazara Nationality as deputy chairman and Noor Akbar Paryesh and Abdul Ghafar Sharifi General Secretary of the Young Workers

Organisation of Afghanistan as secretaries of the session of the founding members of the PFA.

Similarly the members of the six committees of the session of the founding members were endorsed and at the end the draft of the messages of the founding members of the PFA addressed to the people of Afghanistan and the United Nations Organisation were readout and endorsed.

At the end of the first session of the founding members of the PFA, Candidate Academician Mohammad Ibrahim Attia Chairman of the session of the founding members of the PFA pledged in his speech that he will spare no efforts in mobilizing the peace-loving forces and ensuring nation-wide peace in the country and will perform his national, Afghani and Islamic mission in this regard.

The work of the session of the founding members was concluded with prayers by Mawlawi Abdul Aziz Qaisari member of the High Council of Ulama and Clergymen of Afghanistan and passing a resolution.

KT 7/16



Turkoman Rugs Tell A Tale Of War

JOYCE LOWE, a rug buyer for the carpet-store chain Sandler & Worth, traveled to Pakistan in May and returned with a cache of colorful flat-weave rugs made by Turkoman nomads, refugees from Afghanistan. But while the techniques and colors are traditional, the designs reflect the



Bobbi Schuster

experience of a country at war.

The rugs depict guns, hand grenades, mines, tanks and airplanes; crosses commemorate the dead. Woven into each rug is a geometric design that identifies the tribe its maker belongs to.

The rugs range from 2 feet by 4, to 6 feet by 9, and cost from \$400 to \$1,500. Sandler & Worth has 18 stores in Westchester, Long Island, New Jersey and Connecticut.

NYT 7/20

Draft Programme of Peace Front...

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent,

A - IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE:

The peace front of Afghanistan struggles and functions in the following spheres:

1- Afghanistan is an Islamic country and Islam is its sacred religion. Observance and respect of the fundamentals of Islam, facilitating appropriate conditions for performance of religious rites and rites of other religions are the main duties of the peace front of Afghanistan.

2- The peace front of Afghanistan is a vast political organization which in proportion to its possibilities, along other forces outside the front, manifests the sovereignty within the council of unity of the "interim government" and under appropriate situation through convocation of general, free, secret and direct elections will pave the ground for the transfer of political power to the people of Afghanistan.

The peace front of Afghanistan will, function in an organized and harmonised manner in the parliamentary elections and will take active part in the formation of a broad-based coalition government.

3- All the political, social forces, parties, refugee unions, commanders and local armed groups, political circles, intellectuals, scholars, religious figures, national personalities, including men and women inside and outside the country, retain the right to participate in the organization of the Unity Council and in the interim government.

4- The share of the participating forces at the unity council and in the interim government will be in proportion to their role in ensuring peace, defence of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

5- For the defence of the homeland, independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity, for the termination of war, ensurance of universal peace, national unity and rehabilitation of the country.

6- To settle the internal differences, in the territory of Afghanistan, through negotiations and talks; the conflicting issues in accordance with the sense of national confidence, cooperation, Islamic brotherhood and the accepted traditions of the people of Afghanistan.

7- For the return home of the refugees, utilizing different sources; guaranteed safety for provision of resettlement, work opportunity, ensurance of necessary assistance and service for them.

8- For strengthening the political system of the multi-party coalition system in the country through provision of freedom and democracy for the political and social organisation, regardless of the political ideology and political thinking, and similarly, for the freedom of belief among the masses and press and other freedoms, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

9- For the draft and endorsement of the constitution and its amendment and solution of vital political issues, invite the Loya Jirgah and will take an active part in its convocation.

10- It will take an active part in the election campaign for the state power organs and in accordance with the new law on elections of local councils, the members of the peace front of Afghanistan will defend unitedly.

11- Will forward its legal initiatives and proposals about the enforcement and abolition of laws to the National Assembly. Similarly, the peace front of Afghanistan has a parliamentary unit which functions in accordance with a joint programme and harmon-

izes mutual relations among the two bodies.

12- For ensurance of freedoms and rights of the Afghan nationals through consolidation of legality.

13- For consolidation of national unity and principled solution of national issues through ensurance of political, economic, social and cultural equity among the entire nationalities, tribes and strata of the country, struggle against deviative tendencies nationalism, hegemonism, communalism and national discord.

14- For rehabilitation, preservation of favourite cultural, customs and tradition of all nationalities, tribes and clans and ensurance of appropriate grounds for their future growth.

15- For exchange of prisoners of war, release of all political prisoners. Excluding those who have committed terroristic activities and indulged in bombs explosions.

16- For ensurance of permanent neutrality and demilitarisation of Afghanistan, through concluding international accord guaranteed by neighbouring countries and the super powers, under the supervision of the United Nations Organisation.

B - IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE:

The peace front of Afghanistan will function and struggle on the following spheres:

17- For restoration of properties and transferrable and untransferrable wealth of the people to their original owners.

18- To encourage and develop state, mixed, private, cooperative and other economic sectors.

19- To ensure the growth and development of agriculture and cattle breeding sector through cultivating the arable lands, constructing diversion dams and irrigation systems through supplying and distribution of fertilizers, improved seeds, pesticides and insecticides, agricultural im-

plements and other services.

20- To expand agricultural, consumer, producer, supply and marketing and other type of cooperatives on voluntary basis.

21- To fix the price of the surplus agricultural and dairy products for raising the economic level of the members of the agricultural cooperatives.

22- To attract and encourage workers, craftsmen, national traders and capital holders, opposition field commanders and armed groups and other social strata for acceleration of growth of nation-economy and provision of financial assistance and custom credits.

23- To rehabilitate the factories, plants and other industrial institutions which have been damaged or demolished as a result of war and to develop and strengthen handicraft machinery establishments.

24- To protect and support the national handicraft and machine industries against the foreign goods and capitals.

25- To ensure suitable conditions for the circulation of foreign capitals and to attract experts in various socio-economic spheres.

26- To expand the transportation networks for speeding up the process of carrying of passenger goods and to strengthen the transport unions and companies with the participation of state, mixed and private sectors.

27- To develop domestic and foreign trade through state, mixed, private and cooperative sectors in conformity with high interests of the country.

28- To reconstruct dams, canals, streams, drainages and other irrigation establishments which were damaged or demolished in war.

29- Proper exploitation of the natural resources and mines for the all-sided growth of the national economy.

30- To control prices, remove inflation and to prevent it in the national

economy as per the new laws and regulations.

31- To expand the cattle breeding activities of nomads through creation of pastures and rendering health and veterinary services.

32- To preserve, protect and expand forests and pastures.

33- Proper utilization of the state budget and improvement of the taxation system on the basis of preference of direct taxation over indirect taxation and toward observing financial discipline.

C - IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE:

— Peace Front of Afghanistan struggles and functions in the following spheres:

34- Rehabilitation and construction of mosques, takias, jamaathanas, Holy places, Religious madrasas, schools, health centres, Kindergartens, roads and other social establishments which were damaged or demolished as a result of war and to expand the rendering of such social services in the villages and cities in future.

35- To assist the families who lost one or several of their members as a result of war regardless that they belong in which conflicting side. The handicapped, orphans and poor families and to assist in establishing special institutions for the wounded, elders and patients difficult to be treated.

36- To ensure the political and social right of the women in all spheres of the life of society to expand creches, kindergartens and nurseries and to workout a special programme on mother and child care.

37- To struggle against the bribery, embezzlement, speculation, economic sabotage, abuse of public property, smuggling, drug addiction, bureaucracy and various types of social and moral ills and to safeguard and defend the public properties and the rights and properties of the citizens of the country.

33— To eliminate illiteracy, generalisation of literacy, expansion of general and vocational education of the higher educational institutions, training of national cadres in proportion to the requirements of the socio-economic growth and insurance of appropriate rights and privileges for the national cadres.

39— To ensure moral and material life of the workers, employees and service personnel through paying a just allowance and to ensure pension rights to control and fix the price of essential and consumer goods and to improve the work and recreation conditions for them.

40— To tackle the shelter problem gradually, through formulation and expansion of city projects, to construct state mixed, private and cooperative residential apartments and to assign an authoritative delegation for the clarification of the former distribution system of the state apartments and other residential projects in the capital and provinces.

41— To assist the clergymen and religious ulama and to provide facilities for observing pilgrimage and Karbala and other religious rites.

42— To provide favorable conditions for the voluntary settlement of nomads.

43— Compilation and implementation of decrees and laws on social insurances.

44— To preserve the moral and material culture of the People of Afghanistan through safeguarding the historical monuments and to work and provide suitable conditions for the future growth of the culture in the country.

45— To remove overrecruitment in the state organs throughout the country.

46— To ensure suitable conditions for the activities of men of culture, artists, scholars, doctors and experts and to fix just allowances and privileges for them.

47— To ensure social rights and freedoms for youth, students, teachers and other strata in the society.

48— To safeguard and expand the recreational parks throughout the country and to adopt specific measures for the greenery of the cities for preservation of the living environment.

49— To work out and implement the programmes of the prophylactic and curative medicine supply of safe drinking water and environment sanitation.

50— To nourish the talents of the youth and to develop physical exercises.

51— To improve the living conditions in the custodies and jails in the country.

52— To democratize the work conditions of Radio-TV and other mass-media as per the requirements of the new political system.

D— IN THE SPHERE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The peace front of Afghanistan struggles and functions in the following spheres:

53— To follow the non-aligned and neutral policy, free judgement in the international issues and peaceful co-existence.

54— To consolidate mutually beneficial relations with the neighbouring and Islamic and other countries of the world on the basis of respecting the right of freedom, independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

55— To strengthen relations with the Conference of Islamic Countries and to resume the membership of the Republic of Afghanistan in the conference.

56— To ensure undeviated respect to the principles and norms of UN charter, observation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and enhancing the role of UNO in the international relations.

57— To enhance the role and credibility of the Republic of Afghanistan among Islamic Countries, non-aligned movement and peace movements of the international organisations and to ensure relations with

national, regional and international fronts for peace, detente and settlement of differences through negotiations.

58— To defend the international aspects of the reconciliation policy in the national unity towards full implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

59— To support and protect of those peoples and nations under oppression who struggle for the cause of freedom, national independence, their homeland and destiny.

60— To attract the assistance and cooperation of all countries and international organisations for the rehabilitation, growth and expansion of

their country's economy in conformity with the national interests.

61— To advocate the new policy of elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, disarmament dissolution and removal of blocs and military bases from the soil and territories of others.

MARCH 15, 1990

President approves law amendments

KABUL, JUNE 24, (BLA)

President Najibullah has approved in a decree, the resolution of the National Assembly dated 28, 1, 1369 HS with the following text:

Based on article 75 (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, I approve the resolution of the National Assembly dated 28, 1, 1369 HS on the legislative decree No. 22, dated 28, 10, 1367 of the Council of Ministers concerning the law on the military services:

Article 1:
Para four should be added to article 9 with the following content:

Those who are the earning members of their families and are under

recruitment should be mobilized to the armed forces in their residential areas.

In case this category of soldiers are passing their military obligation, they should be paid the salary of the reserved services. If they are undergoing second call terms, they should be paid the salary of the category of volunteers.

Article 2:

Article 10 (1) should be amended as follows:

The pause between the military obligation and the reserved services has to be three years.

Article 3:

First part of Article 44 (1) should be omitted.

Article 4:

The third part of article 43 should be amended as follows:

2— The only bread winners of the families are those who are included in part 6, article 41 of this law.

Article 5:

Part 6 of article 41 (1) will remain in its status quo.

Article 6:

The decree is to be sent to the ministry of justice to be published in the official gazette.

Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan.

KT 6/24



● President Najibullah

CHRONOLOGY

6/1 - AFGHANews (Jamiat) - The Kabul regime is the 2nd major recipient of arms in Asia, according to the Stockholm Int'l Peace Research Inst. (India is the largest.)

- The UN refugee repatriation plan is facing problems because of Kabul's military actions in Kunar, Logar & Paktia. The UN has begun putting

6/26 - gossip telephone call - A Soviet former KGB man told a former US security man that Soviet aid to Afghanistan from January to September last year amounted to 6.5 billion rubles.

6/27 - KT - This year, 3,261 Afghans went to Jeddah via Ariana Afghan Airlines. First-time pilgrims received a gov't subsidy of Afs. 200,000; repeaters only got Afs. 100,000.

7/1 - AFGHANews - The 9 Iran-based mujahideen parties have merged into the Hezb-e-Wahdat-i-Islami (Islamic Unity Party), it was announced in Tehran on 6/16. Abdul Ali Mazari is the spokesman for the new party (see p. 14).

- The French Embassy in Kabul reopened 6/17; however, only the Consular section is functioning. (Italy reopened its embassy on 7/19.)

7/7 - PT - Special flights from Saudi Arabia will bring 250,000 kgs of sacrificial meat for Afghan refugees for Eid-ul Adha.

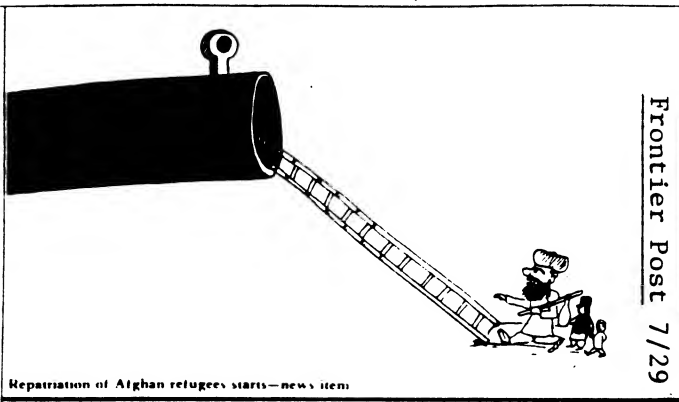
- KT - Sultan Ali Keshtmand, ROA V.P., left for Moscow for medical treatment. Moh'd Aref Sakhra was named ROA Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

7/9 - KT - Nezamuddin Tahzib was relieved of his post of Chief Justice of Afghanistan.

7/10 - PT - An ROA offensive against mujahideen has been underway northwest of Kabul for the past 3 months.

7/12 - KT - The GDR gave Bakhtar News Agency a supply of photographic equipment & film.

- PT - Gulbuddin reiterated his pledge that the mujahideen will foil the designs of the superpowers to impose a gov't of their choice on Afghanistan. He said the Mujahideen could consider a gov't formed by those Afghans who are true Muslims, never sided with the former Afghan gov'ts, stood beside the communists, or fled to the West.



counterfoil stickers in refugee pass-books. When the refugees decide to go home, the UN will purchase those pass-books. (See related articles on p.12,13)

6/18 - KT - ROA Prime Minister Khaliqyar assured a visiting Soviet delegation that his gov't would do its best to secure the release of Soviet POWs detained by the "armed groups of opposition brothers."

6/24 - NYT - In an article on Central Asia, Barbara Crossette writes:

Not all the interest in Central Asia is benign or cultural. William Maley of the Australian Defense Force Academy, who has toured the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area, says some Pakistani generals would like to extend their strategic borders into Soviet territory through Afghanistan. For this reason, some Pakistanis were pursuing secondary aims in the Afghan war, hoping to weaken the Soviet underbelly. And thoughts of a new community of interests unsettle India, which fears it may one day confront a bloc of conservative Islamic lands from its western borders to the horizons of Europe.

- LAT - US & Soviet experts will meet in the next few weeks to try to resolve their remaining differences over Afghanistan.

Frontier Post 7/2



7/13 - PT - Two mujahideen were killed in Peshawar & 7 others injured in an attack on a refugee camp by unknown persons. Sayed Jaafar, a 42-year-old Jamiat cdr. active in Jauzjan was one of those killed. He had 7 children.

7/14 - KT - Shairjan Mazdooyar was named ROA Ambassador to Hungary.

- PT - Since 1980 the ICRC has received \$16¹/₂m from US PVOs & \$24m in direct US support; total US humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan was ca. \$1000m. In 1990, the US will give the ICRC about \$1¹/₂m & nearly \$3¹/₂m to PVOs.

7/15 - AFGHANews - A group of Afghan scholars met in Peshawar last month & proposed the formation of a new political system (see p. 14).

- Temperatures in Kabul hit 98.6° on 6/24. The record high, 99.8°, was set 10 years ago.

- NYT - The Soviets floated a new peace proposal:

The Soviet proposal, a modification of an earlier American plan for Afghan elections, was first floated last month to American officials at the United Nations by the Soviet Ambassador there, Yuli M. Vorontsov. Since then Washington has been trying to determine whether Mr. Vorontsov's ideas are now Moscow's formal negotiating position.

In February, when Mr. Baker visited Moscow, he proposed what he called a phased transition. In the first phase, Mr. Najibullah would remain in office and the American-backed Afghanistan interim government, the guerrilla government in exile based in Pakistan, would hold a consultative assembly to broaden its base to encompass all resistance factions.

At the second stage, Najibullah loyalists, but not Mr. Najibullah himself, would negotiate with the guerrilla organization on arrangements for an internationally supervised election and agree on a neutral figure to control the Government during the campaign. In the third stage, President Najibullah would resign, but could run for office against the rebel movement's candidates. The Soviet Union, while accepting in principle the notion of a transition toward free elections, rejected this restricted role for Mr. Najibullah.

But in June, a few days after the summit meeting between President Bush and President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Mr. Vorontsov, a former Soviet Ambassador to Kabul, suggested a variation of the latest American proposal. Administration officials said.

President Najibullah, he suggested, would retain symbolic power as President before and during an election process, but he would hand over the real levers of power — control of the armed forces, the intelligence agencies and the state-run press organizations — to a broad-based election commission that would actually run the elections.

Mr. Vorontsov seemed to suggest, American officials said, that Mr. Najibullah would remain President without

enjoying the benefits of incumbency during the election campaign. But the election commission, which would have real authority, would include representatives of his ruling party.

Even if Moscow confirms that it is ready for such a compromise, much more negotiation would still be required. The rebels are consumed with internecine fighting, and it would require a major American effort to get them to work together on an election commission, an official said.

In addition, a solution that gives President Najibullah even a symbolic role in the transition would likely be rejected by at least half the resistance movement. Moscow's ability to insure Mr. Najibullah's acceptance of such a plan is also not a forgone conclusion.

Finally, many questions would have to be ironed out regarding how the election commission would be assembled, how a cease-fire would be organized, how a cutoff of Soviet and American arms shipments into Afghanistan would be carried out and how the United Nations and the Islamic Conference Organization would oversee the elections.

The roughly \$300 million a month the Soviet Union is spending to maintain the Najibullah Government and Moscow's increasing desire to put the Afghan conflict behind it to improve relations with both the Islamic world and Washington appear to be affecting the Kremlin's stand, though exactly how much remains uncertain.

(See 7/23)

7/16 - WSJ - Congress is getting impatient with the costly Afghan war (see p.8).

7/18 - Afghan Networker - Meanwhile, Zaher Shah:

A source close to the U.S. Congress said that Congress might give Zaher Shah about \$15 million, so that he can have a more effective role in the formation of a representative government. A source close to the former King told the "Afghan Networker" that any such funding should be channeled through the United Nations.

Currently, the Saudi Government grants the former King about \$80,000 a month. The Saudis once threatened to cut off the grant if the King did not recognize the current Afghan Interim Government. He declined to comply. The Iranians then offered economic assistance to the former King instead. But he did not accept the offer.



However, in a related development, the US envoy to the Afghan Resistance in Peshawar Mr. Peter Thompson met with the former Monarch; according to the Washington Times (July 16, 1990), He urged him to play a leading role in the Afghan Resistance. The US Government has increasingly been frustrated with the resistance leaders who waste more time on fighting one another than fighting the Kabul Government. The move to meet with the King might also have been prompted by strong disapproval by leading congressional leaders of the administration policy toward Afghanistan:

7/23 - SCMP - Najib has some ideas:

KABUL: Afghanistan's President, Mr. Najibullah, yesterday offered to conditionally transfer certain state powers to a joint commission that would wind down the country's civil war and said any other formula would lead to more bloodshed.

The proposed joint commission would include the Afghan resistance or Mujahedeen guerrilla factions and the Kabul Government, Mr. Najibullah said. He added that the two sides could pool their military forces to ensure peace.

"Certain powers" of the powerful defence and the interior ministries would be transferred to the joint commission.

The president said his plan for United Nations-su-

pervised nationwide elections under the joint commission was the only solution to the 12-year-old civil war, which has claimed more than one million lives.

"Any other formula will lead to a bloodbath and anarchy," Mr. Najibullah said.

"The suggestion that we should step aside is like throwing government power in the air and asking anybody to catch whatever they can," he said.

"If we give up there will be new problems, more difficulties and bigger hurdles. There will be a bloodbath and anarchy," he said.

He said those joining his proposed commission should take decisions through consensus, adding that those decisions should be binding on all.

7/27- PT - A joint UN-Pakistan repatriation plan for Afghan refugees will begin tomorrow. "Pakistan is not pushing anybody out, but at the same time, the refugees are not to be kept by force," say Pakistani officials (see p. 12, 13).

8/1 - AFGHANews - Abdul Majid Sarbeland, a Khalqi, was appointed Governor of Kandahar. Juma Asek is the military cdr. of the province.

From an article in the NYT on 7/30 about a new magazine to be edited by Gloria Steinem which will have no ads:

Ms. Steinem tells how a cover article on women in Afghanistan in 1980 kept Ms. from getting a long-term advertising contract with Revlon Inc., because, she said, the Soviet women portrayed on the cover were not wearing makeup.

8/2 - NYT - Barbara Crossette writes that attention in Islamabad "is riveted on the sudden & mysterious trip to Moscow" by Najibullah.

- LAT - Najibullah is vacationing in the Crimea. Abdul Rahim Latif, the ROA Deputy V.P. is holding the fort in Kabul. (See p. 9). In the meetings between Baker & Shevardnadze in Irkutsk, no breakthrough on Afghanistan was reached.

- BIA - An Indian parliamentary delegation, visiting Kabul, assured Afghanistan that India would use "all its available means for the realization of the policy of nat'l reconciliation in the ROA."

8/3 - BIA - Based on a protocol between the ROA & Tadzhikistan, 60 children from Kunduz left yesterday to "enjoy recreational facilities" in the Tadzhik Republic.

8/5 - Hartford Courant - From a travel advisory:

Because of the unsettled political climate in Afghanistan, security in the Afghan refugee camps near Peshawar has deteriorated, with increased threats of violence against foreign-aid workers. Police protection is also limited in the smuggler's bazaar in the Hayatabad district of Peshawar. Be especially cautious if contemplating a visit there.

8/7 - NYT - Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was dismissed by Pakistan's President Ghulam Ishaq Khan yesterday. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was named Prime Minister.

8/8 - NYT - Bhutto blamed the army on her ouster.

Ms. Bhutto said she had tried to coexist with the military, which she said "had made every effort to subvert my Government."

"They asked to look after Afghanistan," she said. "I'm not very happy with the way they were handling it, but I allowed them. Again, I didn't give them a pretense. I allowed them great liberties."

Ms. Bhutto's ouster by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan with the support of the army is viewed by some senior Administration officials with alarm.

One ranking State Department official warned that the strengthening of the armed forces' influence would reinforce the Pakistan-based Afghan guerrillas, who are expected to resist an ar-

8/8 - BIA - The UN expects 250,000 refugees to return to the ROA in the next 3 months. Each returnee will receive \$135 & some wheat. (See pps. 12, 13).

8/9 - NYT - Zia ul-Haq's son Ijaz plans to run for parliament in Pakistan. In his campaign, he will condemn weakening support for the Afghan resistance.

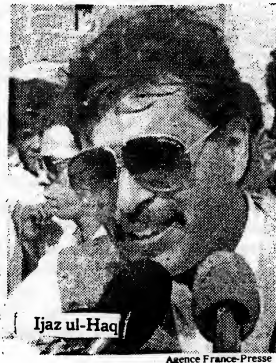
8/12 - NYT - Barbara Crossette writes: "The Pakistani military & - more important in day-to-day conduct of the Afghan war - the Inter Services Intelligence Agency, would like to see the Afghan guerrillas fight their way to power in Kabul. Ms. Bhutto appeared willing to accept a broader-based gov't installed by diplomacy. Her policy, however, was not always clear. Lately, as Washington & Moscow moved toward agreement on Kabul's future, her gov't seemed to have no policy at all.

8/13 - NYT - From an article on renovating the CIA by Angelo Codevilla, a fellow at the Hoover Institution:

Nearly all C.I.A. agents abroad are unspecialized and underqualified bureaucrats in the all-too-obvious clothing of American civil servants. They don't speak foreign languages; in one recent survey, only 20 percent of the C.I.A. officers in Mexico City spoke Spanish.

They know little if anything - economic, military, political and scientific - about their subject countries. Working out of embassies and never having done anything but office work, their contacts do not extend far beyond the cocktail party.

As a consequence, news reporters often provide the public far better reporting on, say, Soviet politics than the U.S. Government can get through clandestine channels. Olivier Roy of Le Monde beat the entire C.I.A. on coverage of Afghanistan for years.



Ms. Bhutto called the move "illegal and unconstitutional."

range being negotiated between Washington and Moscow to hold elections in Afghanistan and end the fighting there.

The State Department official also noted that the dismissal of Ms. Bhutto could increase resistance in Congress to the Administration's \$600-million-a-year aid program to Pakistan.

8/13 - BIA - Moh'd Anwar Shams, ROA Min. of Higher & Vocational Education, said that the Afghan war has "tremendously undermined the foundations of education & compelled the talented youth instead of acquiring knowledge to take arms." His ministry is determined to raise the educational level of students & hopes to resume affiliations with higher educational institutions in foreign countries. Professors who, "for various reasons," have left the country, should be attracted to return home to assist the gov't in training & educating the students. (See 8/14)

- The new law on political parties was approved by the Constitutional Council. Parties must be registered in accordance with the new law & are obligated to "observe & respect the sacred religion of Islam, nat'l, historical & cultural traditions of the country." The law will become effective after its ratification by the President.

- At the recent meeting of the joint Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation commission, the Soviets agreed to deliver 100,000 tons of wheat & 50,000 tons of petroleum products to the ROA during 1990.

- The party paper, Payam, called Gulbuddin the biggest narcotics producer. The paper claims that the opium yields in Helmand this year will be 800 tons, 5 times greater than last year's crop.

8/14 - BIA - Sulaiman Laeq opened a meeting in Kabul yesterday to explain the decisions & resolutions of the 2nd Watan (Homeland) Party Congress. Laeq is Vice-Chairman of the Party which was formerly known as the PDPA.

- The draft of a new educational policy responsive to present & future demands of the society & "aimed for the realization of the nat'l reconciliation policy" has been prepared.

8/19 - NYT - Tom Yates, head of the Int'l Rescue Committee's Peshawar office, left Peshawar after receiving death threats accusing him of "wearing shorts & frequenting video shops in violation of Islamic tradition." (See article on p.11.)

THE FORUM TALKS TO.... Con't from p. 2

He feels that Afghanistan must be neutral & demilitarized. If this becomes the case, then Afghanistan can be perceived as no threat to Pakistan, Iran, China or to the Soviet Union.

We left with visions of all those landless peasants setting fire to their Kalashnikovs.

[Bio #1 is from a publication for UN personnel; #2 is from "Afghanistan's Two-Party Communism, Parcham & Khalq" by Anthony Arnold, Hoover Inst. Press, 1983, p. 182.]

Noor Admad Noor, the new Permanent Representative of Afghanistan, presented his credentials to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar 11 August 1989. Mr. Noor has served as his country's Ambassador to Poland since 1988, and from 1981 to 1987 was Vice President of Afghanistan's Revolutionary Council. After joining his Government's Foreign Ministry in 1961, he served as a member of Parliament from 1965 to 1969. From 1966, he held a number of positions in the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. He served for a period from 1978 as his country's Minister of Interior Affairs and as Ambassador to the United States. Born on 24 July 1937, Mr. Noor received a Bachelor's degree in 1961 in law and political science from Kabul University. He is married has four children.

Nur Ahmad Nur. Born in 1937 in Kandahar, he studied at Habibia High School in Kabul and earned a B.A. in international relations from Kabul University in 1961 before joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He claims membership in the PDPA even before its founding congress, was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee in the summer of 1966, and by the spring of 1967 was a full member. He sided with Babrak in the split, however, resigned from the committee, and joined Parcham. In the 1965 elections to the National Assembly, he was one of three PDPA members to win a seat in the lower house. He served until 1969, when he was defeated for re-election and thereafter had no government job until 1978. He remained active in the PDPA and, after the 1977 Parcham-Khalq reconciliation, was a member of the Central Committee's Politburo and Secretariat. He was named minister of interior and member of the Revolutionary Council in Taraki's government, but was soon sent into ambassadorial exile and then expelled from party and state positions for anti-Khalqi plotting. Under Babrak's government he has no ministerial post, but is again a member of the Politburo and Secretariat, as well as being on the Revolutionary Council's Presidium.

8/23 - NYT - Tass reported that Najibullah met Gorbachev today and discussed the problems their nations face.

8/26 - NYT - Najibullah returned to Kabul yesterday, hours after rockets hit the capital, killing 9 people & injuring 15.

چه خدای کوی
خفته به وشی خو
د او بی کونده
تنگه ونه

Trust in God,
but tie
your camel.

the Caravans Still Roll

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan — In a country destroyed by war, there are always melancholy voices to recall how things were before the bombs and the rockets started falling. But there are still glimpses of the magnificent things that stir an Afghan's heart, and one of these can be seen as the country's nomads begin their spring migration from their lowland winter pastures into the cooling altitudes of the Hindu Kush.

• Outside Kabul every May there are scenes familiar to anyone whose first knowledge of the Afghans came from James A. Michener's "Caravans," a saga based on the novelist's forays here in 1955.

Written when American official interest in the country was being aroused by its strategic position as a neighbor of the Soviet Union, the Michener book offered a colorful introduction to Afghanistan's rugged mysteries, among them the age-old traditions of the people known as kochis, or nomads.

The tale of the kochis in war is one of persistence, of clinging to a life that has changed little since Marco Polo crossed what is now northern Afghanistan with the nomads on his way to China 700 years ago.

Migration Goes On

Despite the land mines sown across their trails, despite crossfire between Kabul Government forces and the Muslim guerrillas, despite the press-ganging of their youths into the fighting, despite incessant tolls of animals and cash exacted as they cross the battlefronts, the kochis continue to migrate with the seasons.

A year ago, a reporter's first glimpse of a kochi caravan came from one of the Kabul forces' helicopters. Flying dirt-low across the razor-back ridges that climb eastward from Kabul toward the old winter capital of Jalalabad, the helicopter buckled back and forth, dodging guerrilla fire that had made the main road between the two cities impassable.

But off to the side of a valley, on a trail reaching like a thread to the horizon, was a caravan of camels, sheep and goats, herded by men on horseback, with women and children marching along behind.

This spring, with the Jalalabad battle reduced to skirmishes, kochis have been reaching Kabul in the largest numbers seen in 12 years of fighting. After resting a few days and trading wool, meat and dairy products in Kabul's bazaars, they resume their journey to the northwest, toward pastures that rise as high as 10,000 feet on the flanks of the Hindu Kush.

When Mr. Michener wrote, official estimates put the number of Afghan nomads at two million to three million, a fifth of the country's population. These days, the Government estimate is down to 1.5 million, and even that may be an exaggeration.

With one in every three Afghans living in exile in Pakistan or Iran, and at least a million others dead from the fighting, the nomads have suffered grievously. Many now remain in Pakistan. But others are undaunted, trekking through war zones along routes that took their ancestors to summer respites as far north as the Oxus river, now, as the Amu-Darya, the border between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and as far east in winter as the Jhelum River in the flatlands of the Punjab.

Nomad's Life Is for Him

For men like Abdul Massel, met as he returned from bathing in the muddy waters of the Kabul River, there are enduring certainties in life, and one of them is that there will always be men who prefer the nomad's way.

"This may look like a hard life to you, but it seems like an easy one to us, compared to that," Mr. Massel said, gesturing toward the mass of mud-walled homes in the distance that marked the outskirts of Kabul.

After a quick reckoning with his cousin, Sharif Khan, like himself luxuriantly bearded and attired in a turban with the flowing tail that Afghans know as a lungi, the 35-year-old nomad estimated he had earned the equivalent of about \$2,000 in 1989 from sales of animal products, and saved about \$600, a fortune by Afghan standards.

Beaming, he added: "We were born as kochis, myself, my father, and his father before him, into distant times. We will die as kochis, too."

A Herder Is Killed

At mention of the war, the men's brows furrowed. The day before, kochis traveling ahead of them had stumbled into a minefield and a 22-year-old herder had been killed.

The incident was doubly painful for the kochis, who lived for centuries by a fierce eye-for-an-eye code, but concern not to become embroiled in the war has caused them to abandon the old bolt-action rifles that were their principal weapons.

It was left to Mr. Massel's 13-year-old nephew, Abdullah, whose own father was killed in crossfire three years ago, to sum up the nomads' feelings.

"The war is not our business," he said. "We are herders, and do not interfere in anybody's else's business if they don't interfere in ours. As for ourselves, we are afraid of neither the soldiers nor the mujahadeen. We fear only God, and he is merciful."

Some times back, the International Day of Museums was celebrated in the country. Our reporter has conducted an interview with Najibullah Popal, Vice-President of the department for museums and preservation of historical relics.

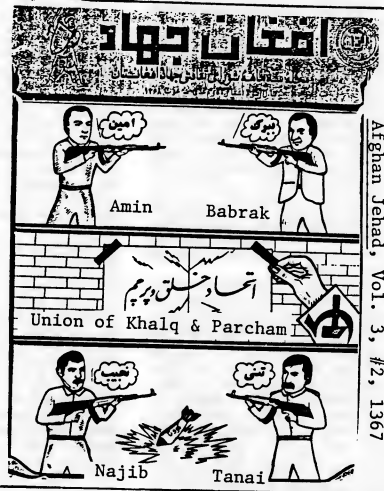
Q: It is said that an art relic from the Hadda of Jalalabad has been stolen and is currently displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of the USA. Would you shed light on this?

A: The Hadda is located nine kilometers far from the Jalalabad city. It is one of the important ancient historical sites of the country. This place is of utmost historical importance as it possesses the most precious and unique historical relics, statues from the Buddhist period.

Unfortunately, this valuable site has also been plundered as a result of the imposed protracted war on our people.

The art pieces you mentioned above were the most valuable historical relics of the Buddhist period which was obtained in the seventh term of excavations from the Hadda site.

According to Dr. Zarnayalai Tarzi, the former chairman of the Archaeological Institute of Afghanistan, this relic belonged to the immovable Hadda Museum. It should be pointed out with regret, that this unique historical relic has been plundered from the Sarajul-Emanat preservation site and is now appearing in the US museum.



He paused, and added: "But if it is our opinion that you want, we believe that it is not a good business for one Muslim brother to be killing another. Where is the mercy in that?"

NEW YORK TIMES MAY 23, 1990



Congress Shows Growing Discomfort Over Role Of the U.S. in Costly and Violent Afghan War

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Congress, after a decade of almost unquestioning support, is showing increased discomfort with the high cost—and resulting violence—of the continued U.S. role in the war in Afghanistan.

"I don't want to pull the rug out from under the administration, but I have a growing impatience with the pace of the diplomatic initiative," says Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman David Boren (D., Okla.). "We're fast approaching a time when we must have a much more full-scale review of policy decisions."

"It might be better if we had a more open debate," says House Speaker Thomas Foley (D., Wash.). "I would like to see a reduction in the level of violence."

Secretary of State James Baker has sought to elevate talks between U.S. and Soviet experts, but for months the administration has chased the elusive goal of defining an acceptable fate for the Kabul government's Soviet-backed President Najibullah. Most recently, hopes were raised when the new Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, Yuli Vorontsov, signaled the chance of a much reduced role for Mr. Najibullah, according to officials. Mr. Vorontsov's comments came in a June meeting with America's U.N. ambassador, Thomas Pickering, but questions remain whether the Soviet diplomat, who once served in Kabul, was speaking for Moscow or only for himself.

Covert funding for the war comes from an estimated \$280 million hastily approved by House and Senate Appropriations Committees last fall, but the same lawmakers are more skeptical today. The mujahdeen resistance, backed by the U.S., Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, controls the Afghan countryside but appears mired in a political and military stalemate against the Soviet-financed Najibullah regime, which holds Kabul and other major cities. Resistance claims of fighting are regarded as suspect by their own supporters, and within the U.S. intelligence community there is support for the judgment that mujahdeen forces could fare as well if both superpowers mutually reduced aid.

'Hard as Flint'

"I feel just as hard as flint," says Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd, a powerful champion for continuing aid. But the West Virginia Democrat says he would consider cuts if an enforceable agreement could be reached with the Soviets to do the same.

"My concern is we're funding tribes that are fighting one another," says Rep. John Murtha (D., Pa.), chairman of the House subcommittee on defense appropriations. And his Senate counterpart, Sen. Daniel Inouye (D., Hawaii), recently portrayed the guerrillas as a force "whose own unity of purpose has been shattered by internecine strife." Of future funding, Mr.

Inouye says: "I'm certain we will take a better look at it. The administration should be prepared for that."

As Sen. Inouye's comments suggest, the entire Afghan policy has proceeded with few questions to date from Congress. Past pressure has come almost exclusively from a core group of conservatives who have been willing to invest time in the issue and are intensely supportive of the mujahdeen cause. By comparison, more moderate and often more powerful lawmakers have been silent, rarely challenging U.S. policy or even educating themselves about the distant war.

A year after the Soviet withdrawal, this tone has changed. Though no firm consensus has emerged, lawmakers question not only the costs of the war but the rationale for suppressing debate by keeping the funding secret. There is no sympathy for Mr. Najibullah, but members are willing to criticize the guerrillas and the level of random killing sustained by U.S. and Soviet assistance.

Early Proponent

"I think it is time to review the policy," says Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), and much the same sentiment is echoed by Sen. Bill Bradley (D., N.J.) and Maine Sen. William Cohen, the ranking Republican on Senate Intelligence. "I think there are gaps in our knowledge," says Mr. Bradley, who was an early proponent of U.S. aid but has become one of the most outspoken critics in committee deliberations on the issue. "The key is the policy, and the policy has to adjust to changing circumstances," he says. "I wonder to [what] extent this has been seriously reviewed and looked at afresh."

The dissent on Afghanistan comes as lawmakers are re-examining the secret U.S. role in wars in Cambodia and Angola. Sen. Boren's panel voted last month to end covert aid to anti-communist forces in Cambodia, and a secret funding request for U.S.-backed forces in Angola was trimmed back by the House Intelligence panel this spring. Restrictions on aid to the mujahdeen in Afghanistan are being discussed as well. To buy time, Mr. Baker has highlighted his commitment to a diplomatic solution, but the secretary surprised some in his own State Department when he testified recently that the remaining differences are "very, very narrow."

The two sides are near agreement on Afghan elections to be overseen by an independent commission, but the more crucial question has always been whether Mr. Najibullah will run the government while the campaign takes place. A former head of hated security forces, the Afghan leader is an anathema to the resistance. And for all his skills as a politician, Mr. Najibullah has yet to establish his own legitimacy or direction after Marxism.

One option is for an independent commission—including respected Afghans—to ask Mr. Najibullah and the most radical mujahdeen leadership to step aside during the elections. The stalemate underscores the limits of influence for the two superpowers, which, after spending billions on opposing armies, have developed an almost collegial relationship on Afghanistan even as they are held captive by their conflicting alliances.

Moscow turned to Washington in May, for example, when it feared heavy rocket attacks by the mujahdeen in Kabul. And in a plea reminiscent of America's own agony after Vietnam, the Soviets seek help in freeing their prisoners of war held by the guerrillas.

Security Grounds

In turn, the U.S. is restricted not only by Mr. Najibullah's survival but Washington's own decision to cut itself off from Kabul by withdrawing all American diplomats last year. After staying through the Soviet occupation, the U.S. pulled out just as Russian troops withdrew. And though the decision was justified first on security grounds, the State Department is fearful that it will only further anger the mujahdeen if a charge d'affaires is sent back now.

With its grassy playing fields and solid German engineering, the U.S. compound in Kabul has become a symbol for many Afghans of all the promise—and emptiness—of the West. Pakistan, which is directly enmeshed in the Afghanistan conflict, retains a highly respected diplomatic staff in Kabul, while thousands of miles away, analysts in Washington are reduced to asking returning reporters for copies of Afghan newspapers they can no longer get. Friendly diplomats express bafflement at the closed-door policy, and Washington suffers by appearing to have turned its back at the very moment when Afghans are trying to reach out to the West.

"People are very interested in retying their links to Western countries," says Ross Mountain, a senior official with the growing U.N. presence in Kabul. Soviet supply planes land daily, but around the corner from a faded sign in Russian, Afghan soldiers practice their English. Finance Minister Hamidullah Tarzi rambles fondly of college days in southern Mississippi. And Pepsi is coming, lured by a new generation of tax breaks.

"I frankly think it would be good to have a charge d'affaires there," says Sen. Boren. Massachusetts Rep. Silvio Conte, the ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, attached report language to a House-passed State Department funding bill calling for a review of the current policy. Sen. Byrd and GOP conservatives defend the closed embassy as being designed to isolate Mr. Najibullah, but Rep. Henry Hyde, a strong

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supporter of the mujahdeen, says he could support the assignment of analysts or a charge d'affaires to Kabul. "I'm not offended by the notion of it," says the Illinois Republican. "I would support a charge d'affaires [over there simply because you learn more from talking and listening to people]."



Mujahdeen reject Najib's offer of forming a coalition govt. — News item

Baker, Shevardnadze: No Afghan Breakthrough

By JIM MANN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

IRKUTSK, Soviet Union—Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze concluded two days of talks in the Siberian city of Irkutsk today by agreeing on the importance of Soviet and American cooperation in Asia.

"In Asia, too, the Soviet Union and the United States do not regard each other as adversaries," Shevardnadze told reporters during a news conference after the talks.

The U.S. and Soviet officials acknowledged, however, that they had not achieved any breakthrough that would lead to a settlement of the civil war in Afghanistan.

Shevardnadze said he and Baker reached agreement on the need for "free elections" in Afghanistan, but he made it clear that both Soviet and American officials must convince the parties in Afghanistan of the need for an agreement.

During the news conference, Baker and Shevardnadze announced that the United States will send a team of businessmen and technical experts to Moscow.

The broad claim by the two officials that the Soviet Union and the United States intend to cooperate in Asia represents a dramatic change from the past decade, when the United States aligned itself with China in opposition to Soviet positions in Asia.

On arms control, Shevardnadze announced, as had been expected, that the Soviet Union intends to stop production of rail-mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles at the beginning of 1991.

The two men also reportedly discussed the time and scheduling for another summit meeting some time near the end of this year between President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Throughout the day, the secretary of state and the Soviet foreign minister mixed business with pleasure as they rode a hydrofoil on Lake Baikal, one of the world's largest freshwater lakes, and tried a bit of fishing on the nearby Angara River.

"I like Siberia. I like Siberia!" Baker exclaimed at one point as he wandered into a crowd that had gathered along the waterfront to see the visiting VIPs.

The two-day series of talks marked the 11th time that Baker and Shevardnadze have met since the beginning of this year. Their remarkably frequent series of meetings has taken them to nine cities on four continents.

The session in Irkutsk had special importance because it was the first time the top superpower diplomats have met in Asia, where the Soviet Union and the United States have competed for influence for decades, but where the two countries are also neighbors.

Baker was invited to Irkutsk to reciprocate for the U.S.-hosted superpower negotiations held last fall in Jackson Hole, Wyo. He and Shevardnadze met for their first session Wednesday morning in the sitting room of a guest house in downtown Irkutsk.

Before the talks, Shevardnadze made clear he expected that Afghanistan would be the top item on the agenda. "We have things to discuss about Afghanistan," he told reporters. "I would not call them new ideas, but we'll see."

Shevardnadze insisted that the departure of Afghanistan President Najibullah for the Soviet Union earlier this week "has no relation to our talks."

"He is not in Moscow, by the way," the foreign minister said of Najibullah. "He will be on vacation in the Soviet Union." When the vacation ends, Shevardnadze said, Najibullah will return to Afghanistan. "I have no doubts about that—just like any of us after vacation," he quipped.

Soviet officials had previously said Najibullah was in their country for medical care, not for a holiday. Gorbachev also left Moscow this week to vacation in the Crimea in the Soviet south, so the

Afghan leader could meet him there.

In both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, there was continued movement that could indicate that a solution to the Afghan conflict was in the offing. Daud Razmyr, the Afghan ambassador in Moscow, was granted an audience with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander M. Belongov to discuss "a political settlement in Afghanistan," the official Soviet news agency Tass reported without providing details.

In Afghanistan, meanwhile, Abdul Rahim Hatif, the deputy vice president, was appointed to head the government in Najibullah's absence, according to state-run Radio Kabul. The announcement was a surprise for many, since such appointments are rarely made during a short foreign trip by Najibullah and the selection passed up his second-in-command, Sultan Ali Keshminda.

Frustrated by the Soviet inability to defeat the insurgents, or *mujahideen*, Gorbachev announced in 1989 that the Soviet army would withdraw from Afghanistan. The last Soviet troops left early last year.

At that point, it was the Americans who were caught by surprise. Most U.S. officials believed, and predicted publicly, that Najibullah's regime would crumble within half a year or so after the Soviet pullout and that the *mujahideen* would take over the country.

But the Bush Administration underestimated Najibullah's staying power, the importance of huge Soviet arms shipments to Kabul and the effects of debilitating feuds among Afghan guerrilla groups.

Over the past few months, Congress has shown signs that it is growing tired of supporting and paying for the Afghan guerrillas. Covert U.S. funding for the Afghan civil war now reportedly amounts to about \$280 million a year, but some congressional leaders in recent weeks have talked openly about the need to cut the funding.

Their own economy teetering, the Soviets also have a definite material incentive to bring about an end to the Afghan fighting. According to some Western esti-

mates, the Kremlin now pays as much as \$300 million a month to prop up Najibullah's government.

The atmosphere for the superpower talks in this cool, quiet Siberian city was markedly different from that of previous meetings this year between Baker and Shevardnadze. At one juncture, as they traveled outside Irkutsk, a cow halted their motorcade as it drank from a mud puddle.

As the foreign ministers chatted in the front of their hydrofoil about Siberia, Shevardnadze's 14-year old granddaughter, Sophie, began playfully arm wrestling with one of Baker's assistants, Caron S. John son.

Sophie won, both left- and right-handed.

U.S., USSR AGREE ON SETTLEMENT OF AFGHAN PROBLEM—(NEWS)



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OIC discusses Afghan issue

The ministerial meeting of Organization of Islamic Countries will be held in Cairo on July 30 to discuss issues facing the Muslim world. Afghanistan is in the agenda of the talks of the foreign ministers of the Islamic countries.

The Afghan Interim Government which is a member of OIC has sent a 7-member delegation to the conference. Prof. Rabbani, the Minister of Reconstruction of AIG, leads the

Mujahideen delegation. He left Islamabad for Cairo on July 26.

The Mujahideen delegation will inform the conference about the situation in Afghanistan and ask the conference to reiterate its support for the right of Afghans to determine their future. The Mujahideen delegation will ask the OIC meeting to put pressure on the Soviet Union to stop supporting the illegal regime of Najibullah.

The Mujahideen delegation will support the Palestinian and Kashmiri struggle for self-determination.

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قطره قطره دریا گردد
"A river is made drop by drop."

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Centre <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AIG	- Afghan Interim Government
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	- German Democratic Republic
ICRC	- Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- Non-Governmental <u>Organization</u>
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
ROA	- Republic of Afghanistan
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNGOMAP	- United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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